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1. Anglican churches - Catholic church, Roman,  
intercommunion
2. Catholic church, Roman - Anglican  
intercommunion

# ENGLAND AND THE HOLY SEE.



ENGLAND  
and  
THE HOLY SEE

An Essay towards Reunion

by  
Spencer Jones, M.A.

*Rector of Batsford with Moreton-in-Marsh.*

With an Introduction  
by  
The Right Hon. Viscount Halifax

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## AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

If in the following pages I speak for the most part in the first person it is because I am speaking only for myself. I have to shelter myself, therefore, under the well known saying that in questions of this kind egotism is true modesty; and I have the highest sanction for doing so.

Towards the close of his Second Eirenicon, which was given to the world in the shape of a letter addressed in the first instance to Cardinal Newman, Dr. Pusey is careful to explain his position thus: "I could not even conjecture what its effects would be (the allusion is to the First Eirenicon). I could only commit it to God, who, I hoped, had taught me to turn into an Eirenicon what, at the earnest desire of others, I had begun as a defence. . . . "But God had, I trusted, put it into my heart to do it. . . . I wish in this new 'Eirenicon' to be understood as speaking in the name of no one but my single self. I have consulted no one."

And so in my own case, and in my own small measure, although the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom has been in existence now for some forty years I have never had the honour of belonging to it, nor have I had the privilege of an introduction to its present Master.

I was invited on one occasion to preach for the Society; and the Secretary did me the kindness of allowing me to make some use of the late Master's pamphlet for the earlier pages of my last chapter; but otherwise he knows nothing of the line I am following in this Essay. While as regards the English Church Union, I did not belong

*Baron's Tablet February 1945*



to the Society until two years ago ; I have only had two opportunities of being present at its meetings ; and I have made no attempt to ascertain how far my views on this subject may be pleasing or displeasing to its members.

And so once more in regard to the name of Viscount Halifax which occurs in more than one place and in more than one connection, all that I know of his lordship's convictions and principles has already appeared in print under his own name and therefore is known also to others.

My thoughts have been running upon the subject of Reunion for some thirteen years ; and I have made some attempt to analyse what I think may be described as the chronic difficulty of the Anglican Church ; until at the last I feel constrained to speak.

There is, too, at the present moment, a special reason for putting on record any thoughts I may have been allowed to have and the results of any work I may have been allowed to do in this cause.

It seems only just now to be dawning upon some minds that a society whose members are suffered to say anything, or do anything that they will is scarcely likely to attract to itself any one in particular.

This must not be mistaken for the language of disrespect ; I am calling attention to facts, and facts are our masters ; and I say it deliberately that one principal reason, as I believe, for the falling off in the number of candidates for Ordination, and for the general indifference in regard to the whole question of religion, is to be found in the bewildering confusions and contradictions that have been not merely suffered but even welcomed in the Anglican Church.

We are gravely assured that a National Church should be a representative Church, that is, a Church of many parties ; and we are further told what it is that the English people will have and what they will not have ; as if indeed the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ

came out from us and did not rather come to us, and as though variations even when they take the acute form of contradictions were to be regarded as a subject of congratulation rather than as a surpassing evil.

Now if it is a good thing, if it conduces to the spread of the Gospel, that families should be divided, that parishes should be thrown into confusion, and that in many cases the parish priest should have to face the alternative of seriously disturbing the convictions of his people by teaching them what he believes to be true or of keeping his own convictions in the background in order to leave them at rest—if this is a good thing then is the enterprise of Reunion an evil thing.

But this is not a good thing; will any one attempt to maintain that it is good for religion to be the one subject that must necessarily be avoided; and that too within a religious household itself?

Our Saviour warned us that His Gospel would divide us, but in what sense? Surely in the sense that one would accept it and another reject it; and not in the sense that believers in one and the same Gospel would spend their entire lives in quarrelling and disputing as to what the Gospel is.

And if such contradictions are evil; there is something else which is worse, and that is the attempt to prove to us that they are good.

There is no sanction in the Gospel surely for saying any such thing. There we see a simple picture enough; a society of men believing what they are taught and abiding in the fellowship of those who teach it; and in regard to which a message is proclaimed to the world and it is plainly told that it must either take it or leave it, and that he who does receive it will be saved, whereas he who rejects it will be damned.

I will not here anticipate what I have attempted to say in the body of this Essay; but will merely add that I have made no attempt to conceal my own convictions or to keep out of sight the bias of my own mind. This

must not be taken to mean that I allow myself anywhere to be consciously unfair; on the contrary, I think this is the fairest way in which to state the question at the outset, in order that the reader may be on his guard from the very first; and that a healthy prejudice in his mind may serve to balance the evident bias in my own. My general aim is to contribute materials for discussion and to do something towards restoring the great doctrine of unity to that position in the context of Christian thought which properly belongs to it; and the leading idea throughout is the principle of proportion as applied to any progressive movement that may arise in the direction of Reunion with the Holy See.

And although I have followed the great example of Dr. Pusey in consulting no one as to the wisdom or not of writing what I have written, I have to acknowledge with deep gratitude the courtesy and kindness of those friends, whether Anglican or Roman, who have provided me with evidence which otherwise would have been out of my reach.

I am not preaching a sermon to a general congregation, nor addressing myself to the general reader, but my words are directed to that special class of persons who have been led to sympathise with the cause I have at heart. And since, happily for us, a period of unification appears to have set in, and Churchmen of various schools have seen their way at last and at least to meet together in conference and so far to recognise one another as brethren within the mystical Body of Christ, it is possible that my own experiences may prove of some use to others.

For the rest, if the unity of the Church is destined to become one of the commanding and controlling thoughts of the New Century, words recently uttered by the late deeply revered Bishop of Durham may here be set down in order to give a certain stamp and seal to this project.

"If I were to choose a motto," he said in his annual charge to his clergy (1900), "If I were to choose a motto

for the coming age I should say that its work and its aim lies in applying to every relation of life the truth which is now dawning upon us, 'Ye are all one man in Christ Jesus.' "



## INTRODUCTION.

The following pages are an attempt to bring home to men's minds and consciences the injury which is done to the Christian cause by the religious divisions of Christendom, and the duty incumbent on all who call themselves Christians to do everything in their power to put an end to them.

It might have been thought that to insist on any such duty was needless. If one thing could have been supposed nearer than another to the hearts and consciences of those who claim to be the disciples of Him who came down from heaven to reunite in one holy fellowship the scattered children of God, it would surely have been the desire to be agreed, at least in all spiritual matters, with all who claim the same Lord and Master, and profess the same religion as themselves.

That it should have been found possible to acquiesce in a state of things which assumes that it is a normal condition for Christians to refuse to communicate with one another in precisely those matters which separate them off from the outside world, would certainly have seemed antecedently inconceivable. Experience however shows that it is not so. To the majority of the followers of Jesus Christ the divisions of Christendom are a matter of no real concern. They accept them as a matter of course. Even good people, to whom religion within the limits of their own communion is a subject of real interest, never appear to give the fact of their separation



in religious matters from others a thought. Such separation is nothing more to them than an accidental and occasional inconvenience in private or public life. They may indeed talk of the divisions of Christendom as a thing to be deplored, but the sense that they are intolerable, that our religious quarrels are quarrels which must be made up, that God should be left no peace till He has brought all-men to be again of one mind in His Holy Church, never even occurs to them.

It is needless to point out how absolutely inconsistent such a habit of mind is with the essential requirements of Christianity. It is indeed the direct negation of the clause in the Creed "I believe in One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church," and to reject or to ignore one clause in the Creed is to imperil them all. What is it which makes such an attitude of mind possible? To ascertain the cause may be to suggest the remedy.

Two causes, I think, may be assigned for this indifference. First, the really astonishing way in which it is possible for men to acquiesce from habit or custom in positions entirely inconsistent with their real belief and principles; and secondly, the settled conviction entertained by so many that Reunion is not a practical question, and that any attempt to heal the divisions of the Christian family is essentially hopeless.

Let me emphasise these points. Our present state of division is indefensible in theory. As Christians, we are pledged to the belief that no man liveth or dieth to himself. We are members of a Body. "I in them, and they in Me, that they may be one in Us," are the words our Lord uses to describe our relation to Him and to one another. Each member of this Body is in a definite and necessary relation to the whole. The action of each member of the Body, and what he is, does, suffers, is the property of all. The key to all history, and what gives it its essential unity, is its bearing on the purposes of God for the members of His Church as a whole. What explains the object of our individual life, and

what invests it with any real and permanent value, is the realisation and accomplishment of that share in the work of the whole which has been allotted to each one of us. Union with Christ, union with one another in Christ, and the discharge of the duties which flow from such union,—this is the sum of Christian life and duty. Contrast this with the actual fact, as it is exhibited in the attitude of the Christian world in regard to the one great act of Christian worship. Our Lord, in the very crisis of His earthly life, as the final expression of His love, and as His parting bequest to His disciples, instituted the mysteries of His Body and Blood in order to provide those whom He calls His friends, throughout the whole of their earthly pilgrimage, and until faith should be swallowed up in sight with the means of the closest communion with Himself and with one another. And how do we treat this unspeakable gift which was to bridge the distance between heaven and earth, and preserve in the bonds of an undying unity the members of the One Body? We acquiesce, apparently with complete content, in a state of things in which participation together in the great act by which we have communion with our Lord and with one another is impossible, and we do not even seem to realise that it is not perfectly natural, that Christians professing to love the same Lord should be unable to communicate at the same altar. Our Lord prayed that His disciples might be one in order that the world might be convinced of His mission. Far from this being the case, is it not nearer the truth that the present condition of Christendom is the first excuse which is given for disbelief in Christianity altogether? Belief rests, in the first instance, upon the witness of others: “that which we have heard and seen, that declare we unto you;” but what becomes of the faith itself, if those who have to deliver it are not agreed among themselves as to what it is? It declines first into individual opinion, which a man may without blame accept or not as he thinks fit,—that is the first

stage; and the next is, that it evaporates altogether. To acquiesce in divisions about religion is to acquiesce in what, to a greater or less degree, tends to the destruction of religion altogether; and there can be no greater duty imposed upon all who believe that God has made a revelation to man, than to agree upon what that revelation is. It is the one condition upon which, in the long run, the maintenance of that revelation depends.

As to the practical evils, which result from religious divisions, they are too obvious to be insisted upon. There is no good work, religious or social, which would not be facilitated if the divisions, which at present divide Christendom, could be healed. Take the question of the religious education of the country. The whole of the difficulties and controversies which at present beset the cause of religious education are due to the religious differences which prevail among Christians. Consider the comparative failure of missionary enterprises, the fact that after 1,900 years of Christianity, the greater part of the world is still unconverted; the alienation from all religious influence of the great masses of the population in England, the comparatively low standard of life in which the Christian world is content to acquiesce; the little hold the supernatural has upon so many—and say whether for these, and numberless other evils, the divisions of Christendom, and the results which those divisions have produced, are not largely responsible.

In the face of such facts, and they are facts which cannot be denied, how comes it that the greater number are so indifferent, even hostile, to any attempt to heal the divisions of the Christian family? Largely, I believe, that they have no hope as to the success of any such enterprise. Reunion, they say, is a beautiful dream, but a dream. He must indeed be sanguine who believes that, on one side, the separated Protestant communions of the world are ever likely to come back to the ancient creed of Christendom, or that, on the

other, the Roman Church will ever contemplate Reunion, except on terms of an absolute submission to herself, inconsistent with principles held alike by the Church of England and the ancient Churches of the East.

Is this really the case? In regard to the Nonconformist bodies in England, I believe that if Churchmen would only be true to their own principles, if they would deal boldly and fearlessly with what is *essential* and what is *non-essential*; if they would remember that because we believe in the Sacraments of the Church we need not therefore deny the workings of God's grace by and through other agencies, and were to ask, in the interests of peace, unity, and truth, those who had separated from the Church to consent to legitimatise their position and make it secure from our point of view as well as from their own, much might be done. It is not retractions in regard to the past, but affirmations in regard to the present, that are wanted.

Dr. Parker, of the City Temple, some time ago, preached a noble sermon on this point, and well indicated the spirit in which such a subject ought to be treated. What is wanted is that all pride and self-assertion, everything but a desire for peace and truth, should be put away on both sides, and that *mutatis mutandis*, and allowing for the essential differences between the two cases, we should make the sort of approaches to our Nonconformist brethren in England, and treat them in the same spirit, that we should wish our Roman brethren to adopt towards us.

How can any one despair of Reunion after reading the noble Address given by Dr. Maclaren on "Evangelical Mysticism" at Edinburgh in the October of this year (1901)?

In regard to Reunion with Rome (and the following remarks apply in their degree to the question of Reunion with the Orthodox Eastern Church), I cannot believe that it is as difficult as it is thought. No doubt,

if we dwell on the ignorance and prejudices which exist on both sides, Reunion seems impossible. But, on the other hand, it is just the amount of ignorance and prejudice which encumbers the question that makes it possible to hope for the best and largest results, if both sides could once be induced to seriously consider the subject.

The greater the amount of misunderstanding, the greater scope there is for explanations. It is just because so much is claimed on both sides over and above what is strictly *de fide* that—given a real desire for peace, given a determination to allow the widest possible latitude in regard to all that was not strictly of obligation, given a recognition that we may believe much to be true which it is not necessary to insist upon as terms of communion, and that we are not bound to object to much which others may believe and do, because it does not commend itself to ourselves—that given, I say, these things, there is a much greater hope of Reunion than is generally thought.

Let me illustrate what I mean by three crucial instances, in order to show what great possibilities of explanation there are in regard to matters supposed to be insuperable difficulties in the way of Reunion.

Take the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, which is matter always brought forward in certain quarters when Reunion is mentioned. To suppose that it pleased God, in view of the merits of her Son, to extend to His blessed Mother in a greater degree the same grace which we know from the words of the Scripture it pleased Him to confer on St. John the Baptist, is surely not a proposition which of itself need alarm anyone. St. John Baptist, we are told, was full of the Holy Ghost from his mother's womb. Is there, in the light of that fact, any difficulty in believing that the Blessed Virgin may by God's grace have been filled with the Holy Ghost from the moment of her conception?

No doubt the difficulty of the authority to impose such a belief remains; but even here a Church which, like the Church of England, has imposed thirty-nine Articles, containing a variety of propositions outside the Creeds, on her clergy, as statements not to be contradicted, need surely not scruple for the sake of peace to acquiesce in a doctrine which can claim the support of so large a portion of the Western Church.

Take, again, the doctrine of Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass. Why is it necessary to insist on fastening upon Rome interpretations of those doctrines opposed to the teaching of the Church of England when there are others which can be reconciled with it?

There was a careful statement of the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice in the *Tablet* of July 28th, 1894,\* which, I will venture to say, no careful Anglican theologian would deny. It is, in fact, to quote one example, identical with doctrine laid down by the present Bishop of Salisbury in a letter to the Archbishop of Utrecht.

In regard to transubstantiation, there is a statement of the doctrine by Cardinal Manning, to be found on

\* "If the principle of *Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus* is not to be interpreted by Protestant presuppositions that even 'invincible' ignorance is culpable, still less is the theological use of the word Sacrifice, which is, of course, based on its older meaning, to be interpreted *ex post facto* by subsequent modern colloquialisms. The *actus offerendi*, or act of offering, is in the typical Mosaic law composed of three parts or phases: (1) the dedication of the oblation by the laying on of hands, which was a presenting or offering of it to Jehovah, when considered in relation with what was to follow; (2) the actual immolation, which was sacrificial, not necessarily in itself, but in connection with what had gone before and what was to come after; and (3) the liturgical pleading of the *res oblata*, the symbolical bringing of it before Jehovah as a *μνησθόν*, *μνημεῖον*, or memorial, by the sprinkling of the blood and the consuming and ascending in the fire of the altar. These three, taken together, constituted the total composite act of sacrifice. Each was sacrificial in its relation to the others; so that the Eucharistic sacrifice, in which, as corresponding to the third stage, there is *per se* no pain or effort, as in the first and second, is called a relative and a commemorative 'sacrifice' (*Tablet*, July 28, 1894. Art. 'Anglicans on Holy Scripture')."



p 81, vol ii. of his *Life*, which differs absolutely in nothing from the doctrine of the Real Presence as taught by accredited English divines.\*

If theologians like Dr. Pusey, Bishop Forbes, and Mr. Keble have felt that the decisions of the Council of Trent and our own formularies are not irreconcilable, surely it is a duty to see how far they can be reconciled; and if it is said that the Vatican Council has destroyed

\* "1. The Council of Trent says that our Lord's humanity, *secundum naturalem existendi modum, i.e.*, in its proper dimensions, etc., is at the right hand of God only.

"2. The Church therefore distinguishes *natural* presence from supernatural or *sacramental* presence.

"Of the modes of this sacramental presence it defines nothing. It is supernatural.

"3. The presence, being supernatural, is not a subject of natural criteria or natural operations.

"4. Within the sphere of natural phenomena and effects there is no change in the consecrated elements.

"But a change does take place in a sphere into which no natural criteria, such as sense, can penetrate.

"Of this we are assured by the words of Revelation, '*Hoc est*, etc. The Church is concerned only to affirm this supernatural fact, as Vasquez says, '*ut sint vera Christi verba*.' Beyond this affirmation the Church affirms nothing.

"5. It has no jurisdiction in science or philosophy. The office of the Church is Divine and unerring within the sphere of the original revelation.

"But ontology and metaphysics are no part of it.

"There are many philosophies about 'matter' and 'substance' etc., but none are authoritative. They are many because no one has been defined. . . ." (Letter to Archdeacon Wilberforce, vol. ii, of *Life*, p. 31.)

With this compare Cardinal Newman: "The Catholic doctrine is as follows. Our Lord is *in loco* in heaven, not in the same sense in the Sacrament. He is present in the Sacrament only in substance, *substantivè*, and substance does not require or imply the occupation of place. But if place is excluded from the idea of the Sacramental Presence, therefore division or distance from heaven is excluded also, for distance implies a measurable interval, and such there cannot be except between places. Moreover, if the idea of distance is excluded, therefore is the idea of motion. Our Lord, then, neither descends from heaven upon our altars, nor moves when carried in procession. The visible species change their position, but He does not move. He is in the Holy Eucharist after the manner of a spirit. We do not know how; we have no parallel to the 'how' in our experience. We can only say that He is present not according to the natural manner of bodies, but *sacramentally*. His presence is substantial, spirit-wise, sacramental, an absolute mystery, not against reason, however, but against imagination, and must be received by faith." (Note, *Via Media*, ed. 1877, vol. ii, p. 221.)

the possibility of agreement, no doubt it has made a change, and a great change, but the question is, whether it has made *such* a change as makes all negotiations impossible.

In the first place, it is clear that the results of the Vatican Council are not what infallibilists and anti-infallibilists thought at first. It was believed that the infallibility asserted for the Head of the Church was an infallibility separate from the Church. The Archbishop of St. Louis, recording Archbishop Manning's action at the Vatican Council writes:—"Nullum dubium de Pontificis infallibilitate personali, separata et absoluta, aut ipse (Archbishop Manning) habet, aut aliiis ut habeant permittere vult. Eam doctrinam esse fidei asserit." Archbishop Manning's comment on these words is "No doubt;" but if the infallibility claimed for the Pope is not, as Cardinal Manning and Mr. W. G. Ward thought, separate from the Church, but the infallibility of the Head as spokesman of the mind of the Church, in regard to any point contained in the deposit of the faith, to ascertain which he is bound to take all necessary means, so that it is not the infallibility of the Head as separate from the Episcopate, but of the Head in union with the Episcopate that is asserted by the Council, then, though I do not say that many and grave difficulties will not remain, I do say that they are not such difficulties as need preclude hope of fruitful negotiation and eventual reconciliation.

The visible head of the Church, after consultation with the universal Episcopate, determining what is the tradition of the Church, is one method of arriving at the truth, just as a Council is another. How the truth is arrived at is a detail; the essential thing is that it should be the mind of the whole Church which is expressed in either case. A council derives its œcumenical character from universal consent; so what is really the voice of the whole body, in whatever particular way it may utter its speech, is the voice of the Holy Ghost.

In the first case it is expressed through the intervention of its visible head, speaking for the body previously consulted; in the second, through the Head and the Body speaking together.

This, however, at least is certain—that if we think the claims of the Pope have been exaggerated, the surest way of restricting them within their proper limits is freely to concede all that, as primate of Christendom, he can historically claim; and on this point I am bound to say that I do not think English theologians as a rule are fair or just. They seem, for the most part, so afraid of the consequences of allowing a primacy by virtue of our Lord's commission to St. Peter and his successors, that they weaken the real strength of their position by refusing to admit much which cannot in fairness or without special pleading be denied.

On the other hand, a conviction that the Church of England is responsible for teaching, and occupies a position which in the interests of truth, and of Christendom at large she is bound to maintain, will enable us to be perfectly just and candid in regard to Roman claims on this and kindred subjects. It is such a just and candid appreciation of what Rome can rightly claim and the rest of Christendom can rightly admit which is attempted in this volume.

In saying this, however, it must not be assumed that I necessarily identify myself with all the positions asserted in this essay. It is possible, it is even probable, that I might be disposed to criticize some of them. But even so I should be untrue to my deepest convictions if I did not welcome any such attempt as that of which this volume is the expression. It is surely eminently desirable that what any one feels on so important a subject should be freely and fearlessly stated. It is only by such a discussion frankly undertaken that what ought to be admitted on both sides will come to be acknowledged. No question on which the Episcopate is divided can be held to be finally closed, and it is only

by a candid consideration of the points at issue that an agreement can hope to be arrived at.

That there is need for such enquiry no one can surely deny. The history of the Church of England is not one which enables us to assert, unless we wilfully shut our eyes to facts, that there is nothing since our separation from Rome which needs excuse, or which negatives the necessity of an enquiry into our relations with other Churches. To have preserved the Faith in the hearts of her people, to have been faithful in practice as in profession, is the glory of any National Church. Can it be said with truth, in view of the religious condition of the great masses of our population, that the Church of England has the right to claim, either to have preserved the Faith amongst all those for whom she is responsible, or to have herself practised what she professes? What is the belief and practice of the majority of her own children? What proportion of the population of England and Wales is outside her pale? Why is it that the principle of authority in religious matters is so little regarded in England? Is there any truth in M. de Maistre's celebrated saying, "that precious as the Church of England is in many respects, she occupies the position of a rebel preaching obedience?"

Inquiries such as these cannot be neglected—others will make them for us if we decline to make them for ourselves—they have to be faced, and to be faced fearlessly, and without fear of the consequences. The present volume is an attempt to face some of them. A consideration of them undertaken by those who realize in any adequate degree the evils of disunion and the permanent duty of seeking the things which make for the peace of the Church must be profitable. In regard to our relations with the Roman Church, with which this volume is more particularly concerned, I cannot but believe that the spirit in which its pages are conceived is one which, if generally adopted, could hardly fail to bring about eventually such a change of atti-

tude on the part both of Rome and England as would make Reunion possible—and that without compromising essential principles.

One thing, however, is essential if we wish for Reunion; the Church of England must be true to its own principles. Dr. Pusey, whose unflinching loyalty to the Church of England none will question, consistently maintained that the appeal made by the Church of England was to antiquity and the general consent of the Fathers.

The consent of the Fathers is treated by the Creed of Pius IV as equivalent to the mind of the Church. That Creed which expresses the corporate belief of the Roman Church and binds every individual within her fold has this clause, "*Sacram Scripturam juxta eum sensum quem tenuit et tenet sancta Mater Ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Sacram Scripturarum admitto, nec eam unquam nisi juxta unanimem consensum Patrum accipiam et interpretabor.*"

The Creed not only binds the Roman Church to accept what the Church *holds* but to what it has held. The Roman Church is as absolutely bound to an appeal to consensus—to the general mind of the Church—in regard to matters of faith as the Church of England.

Leo XIII. in the Bull "*Satis Cognitum*" refers to the teaching and practice of S. Cyprian and S. Augustine as illustrating the relations which should exist between the Holy See and the rest of the Church, nor does the Archbishop of York do otherwise, when he states that "England could never hesitate, in regard to the Papacy, to admit whatever can be shown to be in accordance with the will of our blessed Lord and the teaching of the Primitive Church."\*

Surely such principles if faithfully adhered to, surely such an appeal if honestly carried out should make Reunion possible. As was stated by the Bishop of Exeter in his paper at the Brighton Church Congress, we know more of antiquity, we are better able to judge

\* Letter to Abbé Portal, March 27, 1896.

of much that has been in dispute than the men of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. The controversies of the Twentieth Century will not be fought on precisely the same grounds or under the same conditions as those of the Sixteenth. The results of historical and biblical criticism have to be reckoned with on both sides. Writers like Bishop Stubbs, Dr. Pastor, Bishop Creighton, the Abbé Duchesne, to mention names known to everyone, have done much to put things into new perspective, and with a new perspective, a fresh aspect is given to controverted points often leading to unexpected results.

There is another most encouraging feature of the present time which must not be forgotten, and that is the disposition displayed on all sides to consider the subjects of past controversy in a wide and generous spirit, to allow for the circumstances of the time in which they arose, and to guard against reading the present into the past. Dr. Moberly's admirable volume on the Ministerial Priesthood, with his Appendix on the Validity of Anglican orders, is a case in point.

There is, I believe, a much greater desire on all sides to arrive at truth than to bolster up a foregone conclusion than was formerly the case. In the domain of theology it is perceived that theological formulæ are not coterminous with the truths sought to be expressed, that they are but approximations to them, and that the sense attached to a theological formula may sometimes in process of time come to be materially different in popular estimation from that in which it was originally understood. There can be little doubt, to give one example, that the word "substance" as popularly understood has very largely changed its meaning from that in which it was employed by the Lateran Council. The fact, if it be one, would go a long way to make explanations easy on a point which is often looked upon as one of the distinguishing differences between Rome and England. No great historical Church, no large body of Christians is

likely suddenly to withdraw statements bound up with the religious convictions of those for whom they are responsible; the risk to faith would be too great; but each and all may explain, where explanations are needed, in a way which will divest such statements of the difficulties attaching to them.

The Council of Florence, whatever else may be said of it, by conceding the fact that it was to rank as the Eighth Ecumenical Council, at least showed this—that the authority asserted for the decisions of councils claiming to be general councils like those of the Lateran, was not such as to make explanations, and very large explanations, impossible. But the possibility of such explanations once admitted there can be no reason why in the face of a general and honest desire to be guided by the mind and voice of the whole Church, and with a firm determination to insist only on what is of strict obligation, such a measure of agreement might not be arrived at as, without interfering with national habits and customs, would make inter-communion possible, and that without sacrifice of principle, or danger to the deposit of truth entrusted to the Church's keeping.

Why should the Reunion of Christendom, on such a basis, be thought a dream? Are we not told that faith can move mountains? What limit can be placed on God's power who "maketh men to be of one mind in an house" except the limit we put on His gracious purposes towards us by our lack of faith and by our feeble wills? Can He desire the peace of his Church less than we who discern so imperfectly the evils which result from division?

It will be objected perhaps that recent events have made all question of Reunion impossible. Is it so? Is it not rather the truth, whatever assertions may be made on either side as to the consequences and logical results of the Bull on Anglican Orders, that the question of Reunion still occupies the field, and that lines of com-

munication have been opened up between members of the Anglican and Roman Communions which are destined under the guidance of God's good providence, and as He sees fit, to have great and far-reaching results? The personal intercourse of those who seek the peace of the Church in sincerity and love is a great dissolvent of differences, even of those which seem the most insurmountable.

Such intercourse at once changes the atmosphere in which differences are regarded. Things assume a new aspect, mists clear away, what seemed far off and impossible is discovered to be near and less difficult of attainment than had been supposed. With the desire for peace possibilities of agreement are perceived which had not been suspected. Explanations on this point and that point are attempted, with the result that as in a thaw, when first one crack in the ice is heard, and then another, till all at once the ice everywhere melts and the waters flow, the tide of agreement gathers force and eventually sweeps away all obstacles that bar the road to peace.

So may it be in regard to the Reunion of Christendom. How it will be brought about, or when, are matters about which we need not greatly concern ourselves. The disposition of such things remains with the Lord our God. Nevertheless so far as we may presume to interpret the signs of the times, is there not reason to think from all we see around us, that much in the past which has encouraged separation is passing away, and that much likely to work in the opposite direction, is making itself widely felt both at home and abroad.

It is no unreal and fictitious union, no federation of independent Churches professing divergent creeds that we seek, but a union founded on the profession of the one Faith with only those differences in regard to discipline and practice which might rightly be acquiesced in,—it is the revelation to the world of that Unity in which the Lord founded His Church, and in which she abides one



throughout all ages. It cannot be our wisdom to play into the hands of those who may desire for various reasons to discourage the movement for reunion, by standing aloof, saying that union among Christians is a dream, and insisting on all that makes the realization of such union impossible. On the contrary it should surely be our endeavour to go as far as we can in the opposite direction, to show that we are truly anxious to do all that we may to heal the divisions, and to repair the breaches of the City of God. Let us, then, keep the eventual reunion of the whole Christian family ever in view and let us pray for it, let us labour for it, and in the first instance let us strive for, that reunion of the Church of England with the Apostolic See, which is so necessary for the maintenance of the Faith, for the vindication of Ecclesiastical authority, for the welfare of Christ's religion, and the spread of the Kingdom of God upon earth.

I venture very earnestly to recommend the following pages to the earnest consideration of all those who desire that the will of Him who is the Author of Peace and Lover of Concord may be done on earth as it is in Heaven.

HALIFAX.

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## CHAPTER I.

### ON THE PRINCIPLES OF REUNION.

#### I.

In his Sermon at St. Paul's Cathedral in 1899, on the occasion of the eightieth birthday of our late Most Gracious Queen, the Archbishop of Canterbury fastened the attention of a vast congregation upon the virtue of sympathy as the characteristic note of the present age.

Progress there has been, of course, in the sphere of invention and discovery, but is it certain that we are better in other respects than our forefathers?

Are we less immersed in mere material prosperity? Less tempted to scheme and manœuvre for our own ends? Here, perhaps, we have not made progress. But along what may be called the line of sympathy we have made some advance.

The Archbishop pointed to the contrast between the East and the West end of London, and the barrier which at one time separated them off into two worlds. It was not that the rich in the one division despised their poorer brethren in the other; they did not realise their existence. This barrier has now fallen; and lines of communication have been opened up.

The multiplication of hospitals and other charitable institutions supplies another instance; and so again with the ideas of Reunion which are in the air.

So it is; in our own day barriers are falling in all directions and men are being drawn more closely together by a sense of common brotherhood.

The preacher then went on to say how we might allow

ourselves to hope that all these movements were carrying us forward to some great and happy consummation. And finally this spirit was gathered up and perfectly represented for us in the person of our late Most Gracious Queen, who had identified herself over so long a course of years with the joys and sorrows of her people. I am not of course presuming to claim the sanction of the Archbishop's sermon for any words of my own; but sympathy may, I think, be considered the essential idea of Reunion; so much so that in the act of acquiring the one we shall find ourselves borne on forcibly towards the other.

For the rest, inasmuch as disputes or even discussions between fallible men are apt not seldom to fail because the several parties are using terms which are identical in senses which are various or contradictory, it will be convenient at the outset not merely to lay down the line of my argument, but to explain the meaning of my terms.

## II.

It is the fashion, I know, to smile when the term crisis is applied to moments like the present; but we shall come to see the justice of this description if we give careful consideration to our case.

It is not merely that the majority of English churchmen have appealed away from the Privy Council; many thousands of them have also appealed, on points that cannot be described as insignificant, away from the Episcopate in England to the Holy Church throughout all the world outside. We have said to the Civil Courts—we will not obey you; and on certain specific questions we have said also to the bishops—we will not obey you.

The bishops in their turn now ask us,—and it is inevitable that they should do so—whom, then, will you obey? And to this we return the answer—we will obey the Holy Church throughout all the world.

It would not be easy to say more, and no one who attaches any real meaning to the words of his own profession in the Creed can allow himself to say less.

However, this represents only the beginning of a discussion which is destined to prove one of the most momentous in the history of the English Church.

The meeting of the English Church Union in 1899, and the speech of Lord Halifax which attracted so much attention at the time will be found to have marked a turning point in the history of the Oxford Movement. It was said of the speaker at the time that it was not too much to declare "that under Henry VIII, at any date after 1534, he would have paid with his head for any repudiation of Róyal Supremacy such as he made recently at the Grafton Hotel."

Some of Lord Halifax's friends, meantime, withdrew from his company and made some attempt to minimise the significance of his words. They were calculated, it was said, merely to excite the smiles of those who really are statesmen and lawyers, and scholars. Without laying claim to belong to any one of these three classes I venture to think otherwise; and what I shall go on to say in the pages of this book will explain as far as possible my reasons for so thinking.

If the Church of England be not a whole she must be a part; and if a part what is her relation to the whole? This further question is inevitable; the very laws of the human mind compel it; it is impossible at this stage to think at all and not to ask it. And when men are characterised as "extreme" for daring to face these questions, it often means nothing more or less than that they are attempting faithfully to obey the laws of their own minds and to go on thinking.

Under such circumstances, the temptation, especially in our own country, to purchase a cheap reputation for honesty by saying what is expected of us instead of saying what we see is one that must be frankly faced and firmly withstood.

When the bishops go on to ask us, then, as I understand the Bishop of Liverpool to ask, what we mean by the Catholic Church, we are bound to look about for an answer; and one attempt to find that answer is represented by the great enterprise of Reunion, an enterprise which is gathering force every day and rapidly becoming universal.

The shore is lined with anxious and various observers, each with the telescope lifted to his eyes and each making careful attempts to discern and describe this new and majestic phenomenon now appearing on the horizon.

It is the Great Ship of the Church that is coming into sight; some had mistaken it for many ships but now the word passes down the line—Not many, but one.

As she emerges out of the mist her proportions come out to view; and the very vision of her, remote though she still may be, delights the eyes and solemnises and subdues the hearts of those who have watched so long and are now so soon to be rewarded for their watching.

The Bible is the common platform on which all may stand, and from that point of view it becomes impossible eventually to see more than one Church. As time advances, there is an improvement, of course, in the instruments of vision; and as we place them again and again to our eyes they are found to have become more and more delicate and effective for their great purpose.

In each successive moment it is our duty to say what we see, our one only dread and danger being lest we should sin against the light.

Meantime we grow so used to new states that we are apt to forget the old ones. Not many years ago most of us were wont to speak of the "Protestant Church;" or perhaps we called it "The Establishment;" or again "The National Church;" and some of these expressions, especially the last, are with us still; but others are coming more to the front, and, we hear of "The Church

of England," or that again gives place to "The Church in England;" until at length men have come to speak of "The two Provinces of Canterbury and York." What does all this mean but the necessary and progressive enlargement of our vision; and however fascinating and fruitful some passing ideas may be—the idea, for instance, of "the great future that lies before the Anglo-Saxon races," or of "the destiny that lies before our great empire"—we must not allow such as these to intercept our view of that one phenomenon which is, after all, the proper object of our interest.

### III.

However we may describe our own Communion, then, it is plain that if we claim for her the position of a part and not of the whole, we must be able to give some account of her relation to the whole.

The question may be variously stated and so may also the answer. We may say vaguely that we must look forward in God's own good time to a reunited Christendom; and however wholesome this may sound it generally signifies that we do not feel called upon to do anything ourselves to promote that happy consummation.

Or, speaking more particularly, we may say that the question of the moment is the relation of the National Churches to the Catholic Church; and this is our temperate way of stating a question that we know must become delicate in proportion as we attempt to unfold and explain it; or once more, we may say, as I am venturing in this Essay to say, that one of the great questions before us in the new century is the relation of the Church of England to the Holy See.

But however we may propose the question, we cannot shirk it; nor should we call those extreme who decline to do so.

Will any one say how it is possible in the course of



our attempt to recover Catholic positions—and what is the history of the Oxford Movement but one continuous exhibition of this effort—how is it possible to proclaim on the housetops the duty of looking out into space beyond the mere limits of the nation itself to the world-wide church abroad, and again of looking backwards in time in order to establish a line of continuity with the Pre-Reformation Church at home, and yet to ignore the Holy See?

The present crisis, then, in the Church of England is not a shadow but a reality; and the possibility of reunion with the Holy See has become a necessity of thought.

This it is that meets us whichever way we turn, and the whole atmosphere about us favours it. If we say that “Unification” is the thought of the moment, we cannot thereby mean a unification which is to exclude two hundred and forty millions of our fellow Christians in the West. But if it is meant to include them it must include also that which constitutes the very heart and centre of them, viz. the Apostolic See.

If again we say that “Continuity” is the great question before us we shall soon find ourselves face to face with the actual and constitutional position of the English Church regarded as a spiritual society before the point of time known as the Reformation; and how, then shall we avoid the Holy See?

The name of the Abbé Duchesne has been well received by us in England and has been often quoted in connection with the subject of Anglican orders. What, then, does he say in this connection?

“England,” he writes, “is of all nations in the world that one whose ecclesiastical origins are linked most evidently with the Apostolic See of Rome. Dense darkness hangs around the earliest days of Africa, of Spain, and of Gaul. . . . A few inadmissible legends apart, we possess no document whatever about the first evangelisation of these countries. As a contrast the his-

tory of the foundation of this English Church is known to us first by the book of Venerable Bede, a native writer, conscientious, more learned than any of his contemporaries, and writing only a century after the first missions. Next, by the original letters of St. Gregory and of his successors. We could hardly desire more light. . . . "Like all works of the kind, the English Mission soon met with obstacles. Time thinned the ranks of the first-comers. It was necessary to send other missionaries, other leaders. In particular from Ireland and from France labourers came into the vineyard of the Lord. It was Pope Vitalian who gave to the English Church its definite organiser in the person of St. Theodore. . . . The English Church, then, is a colony of the Roman Church."

And in the course of his famous speech at Bristol Lord Halifax spoke in the same sense.

#### IV.

Now what I wish to say in regard to this evidence and other evidence of a similar kind that I shall have occasion elsewhere to quote is, that if this statement is true would it not be a *suppressio veri* to ignore it? Is it, I mean, to be brought forward merely for controversial purposes and quoted only on what is called the Roman Side? Do the higher critics, for example, deal with historical material after such a fashion? Do they not say—what is the truth in regard to this question? not—what will tell most for our side? And if it is part of the truth that the Church of God should be one, will it not be by the contemplation of truth as such, not of "Anglican truth" or "Roman truth" that we shall most surely promote that end?

This is one principal benefit that the Reunion Movement will be found to confer upon us.

The spirit of controversy is tempted to say—this or that is true, but I belong to one side and not to the

other, and it is for my adversary to find it out if he can and to use it if he will. Another alternative is to "try to be fair;" and that again is in a sense untrue because a man thereby divests himself of his own proper bias which is perhaps the truest thing about him. But the spirit of Reunion says "It is a fact that God means us to be one and I shall therefore seek high and low, I, with my own proper bias to help and force me on, shall seek everywhere, in Rome and out of it, for all that conduces to that end."

Whatever is to be said of this latter principle it is the one to which I have deliberately committed myself throughout. To be set over against one another as we seek for truth is one thing; and to be alongside as we seek it is another.

Does not this principle, then, lead us to recognise deliberate and intimate relations as between England and the Holy See, not merely in the Sixth Century but in the earliest as well as central years of the Sixteenth?

## V.

A clergyman in the course of a sermon preached to his congregation some fifty years ago on the subject of Confession declared that if he had his way capital punishment should be the penalty for any of his brethren who heard a Confession. Was the spirit of this man the spirit of Sir Thomas More or of those who put him to death for refusing to desert the Holy See? On which side would he have been had he lived three hundred years earlier? Is not his line of continuity an easy one to trace? On the other hand if Lord Halifax is still alive and in our midst, and if thousands of others are identified with him in a determination to submit let us say to duly constituted spiritual authority in things spiritual and not to a tribunal which has no proper jurisdiction in such questions, is not this because Englishmen everywhere have achieved a level of freedom

which enables them to speak out and not because the question before them is substantially different from the question which confronted the Lord Chancellor of less happy days?

Many new materials are now coming to light, and historical scholars assure us that the history of the Reformation has yet to be written, but the one certain thing about that movement surely is that it was carried through in an atmosphere of force and not of freedom. Is it possible to believe that at the time of the Reformation, the Church of England as such, and in her innermost heart, desired to sever herself from the Holy See? Would the legislation of those days be endured by Englishmen, I do not necessarily say Churchmen to-day? Is it not visibly breaking down before our eyes? When has the English Church, I do not say in our own time, but ever, given her free consent to that legislation?

It is this that lies at the back of so much of our trouble; not merely that we are in a state of isolation, but the absolute certainty in the minds of many of us that had we lived in those days we should have strenuously resisted the whole course of legislation, so far as it brought that isolation about. The Archbishop of York had words of his own to say in the House of Lords (1559) in his attempt to resist these drastic changes; but they were forced through in spite of him. And so, again, as regards the Pre-Reformation days, whatever may have been the enormities of those centuries—and the honours would seem to have been evenly divided as between the Church and State—the spiritual supremacy of the Holy See was the obvious fact calling for no proof from anyone. It may have exceeded its powers from time to time, and individual ecclesiastics may have so far sympathised with the State, openly or in secret, in its determination to restrain it; but surely up to the reign of Henry VIII. and during the earlier years of that reign the assumption at the

root of everything that was said and done in England was the fact of the Holy See as the visible centre of Christendom and the fact of its Bishop as its Spiritual head on earth.

We have lately been reminded that in those early centuries "there was no ecclesiastically organised body that answered to the name" of the Church of England; and that "no tie of an ecclesiastical or spiritual kind bound the Bishop of Chichester to the Bishop of Carlisle except that which bound them both to French and Spanish Bishops;" and, furthermore, "that Papal justice knew no geographical bounds, at least in the Occident."

## VI.

Now if it be true to say that Roman Canon Law was accepted as binding upon the Courts Christian in England, and not as supplying merely a text book of reference to be taken up or set down at will; if the State as a whole or individual Churchmen, such as good Bishop Grosseteste protested, not against the use but against the abuse of this system; and if it may rightly be said of Henry VIII that he "cut the very life thread of the old learning" by prohibiting the academic study of the Canon Law on the one hand and by encouraging and endowing the study of the Civil Law on the other, so that by degrees "all touch with continental thought" was lost; how is it possible to ignore all this when we attempt to review the past? And so again when we steadily contemplate the long period of the penal laws, which is of a piece with this policy of suppression, is it not plain that the Catholic Emancipation Act, the eventful course of the Oxford movement, and the obvious confusions, which are the direct outcome of our isolation, all these in the congenial climate of Commonwealths, Federations, Universal Exhibitions, Trades Unions, and the spirit of fairness, which Christianity and the scientific temper have combined to bring about—is it not plain

that all this serves necessarily to re-open what is to us the greatest of all questions, viz., what the will of God truly is in regard to His Holy Church throughout all the world?

Let the case be fairly considered. An Englishman and a Churchman to-day takes up readily with the cry against the Holy See and in so doing places himself, as he imagines, in line with his spiritual ancestors in the past. Let him run his finger along that line working backwards to the fifteenth Century and is he sure he will find himself at home at the end of it? The writer whom I have already quoted, and who speaks with no particular bias, unless it be a bias against the Holy See itself, puts the case clearly for us: "We are surely concerned to see," he writes, "whether such practical protest against the Roman theory, as our ancestors were making was being made in the name and by the organs of the State." And again; "The question is whether one particular strand is continuous." And that is how I should state the question for the consideration of abler minds than my own.

## VII.

As regards the principal terms I shall be using and the meaning that I am everywhere attaching to those terms, when I speak of "Unity" I mean a state of mutual relations, arising out of substantial agreement and expressing itself in the desire and ability to communicate at one and the same altar.

When I speak of "Reunion" the specific end I am contemplating throughout, an end which can only be realised, if ever, in the distant future, is the reunion of England with the Holy See; the recovery, that is, of a lost position, in preference to the contemplation of any vague and momentous experiment.

I use the term "Divisions" as representing a necessary condition of our present case, and "Unhappy

Divisions" as synonymous with those contradictions which are opposed to our Lord's will.

For the rest, I think it will be evident that the hitherto disproportionate relations of the Church of England to those not in full communion with herself are discovering some tendencies towards adjustment, that mutual contact is tending to destroy prejudice whether against persons or principles; that with a view to promote the cause of Reunion it will be found necessary to distinguish between discussion as applied to theory and action as directed towards practical steps; that such an attitude is supported by recognised practice in other departments of enquiry; that as it is our wont as well as our duty to discover and obey the laws of nature, so it is our duty to recognise and to submit to certain general laws in the constitution of Christendom, that the course of history has brought out to view certain broad characteristics in the several parties or sections of the Christian world; and that for purposes of Reunion such characteristics may be described as their proper functions; and finally that the ideal of Christian Unity in the sense in which I am considering it must necessarily be possible inasmuch as it is certainly divine.

#### VIII.

With these thoughts in my mind, then, and without attempting either to conceal my own convictions or to determine the times and seasons except in so far as God has plainly declared them for us; and with a view to promote discussion, not to preach in sermons or to insinuate in instructions or conversation, or to employ any other tortuous means whatsoever, but so far to throw the whole subject into a more scientific shape, I venture to set down certain propositions, some of which, indeed, will appear obvious, while as regards others I shall ask the reader to assume the limitation of a prefix,

such as, Let it be granted—or, Let us assume for discussion's sake—or Does it not appear likely that?—but all of which are intended to clear our minds and to guide us in the consideration of the subject that is before us.

- (1) That Christendom is divided against itself.
- (2) That a house divided against itself cannot stand.
- (3) That our Lord meant us to be one.
- (4) That it is our duty, therefore, to compose our quarrels.
- (5) That he has endued us with the power to do so.
- (6) That this power discovers itself in the work of the Holy Spirit on the part of God, and in prayer and labour on the part of man.
- (7) That it was to the Church regarded as one that our Lord vouchsafed the promise of His presence.
- (8) That the enterprise of Re-union is, therefore, genuine since its purpose is divine.
- (9) That a "divine ideal must be capable of fulfilment."
- (10) That as a matter of history no other form or principle of Government has been able to come near to the Holy See in its power to keep together in the bond of a living fellowship so many thousands of Christians.
- (11) That the Communion of Rome is conspicuous in the records of Scripture ("I thank God that your faith is spoken of throughout all the world"); and appears at once unique and conspicuous in the subsequent records of the Church.
- (12) That the See of Rome is the Apostolic See and is destined to become the visible centre of Christendom.
- (13) That Rome is in fact the mother of English Christianity.
- (14) That Reunion, for the English Church, signifies Reunion with the Church of Rome.
- (15) That England cannot formally remain as she is except in so far as she is infallible.



- (16) That Rome cannot formally cease to be what she is since she claims to be infallible.
- (17) That two cannot continue to agree except they walk together.
- (18) That fellowship and communion are therefore necessary if faith is to continue one.
- (19) That two cannot walk together except they be agreed.
- (20) That it is therefore necessary to study the belief of other Communions before we oppose them or unite with them.
- (21) That a more extended recovery of contact is calculated to destroy prejudice and thereby to prepare the way for Communion.
- (22) That since "large changes and adaptations of belief are possible within the limits of the same unchanging formulæ," explanation will be found in fact to remove misunderstandings and to reduce the distance between us,
- (23) That time, which is an "element in all growth," has already effected much.
- (24) That circumstances which alter cases do thereby, and so far determine duties.
- (25) That movements, therefore, which may be inexpedient at one point of time may come to be wise and proper at another.
- (26) That fair and free discussion as distinguished from the recommendation of practical steps will serve to prepare us for conjunctures.
- (27) That Reunion has come at length to be frankly recognised both as an idea and a necessity among all Communities of Christians; and that the same freedom of discussion must be allowed in relation to Rome as is universally permitted in all other directions.
- (28) And that at all times and under all circumstances "love is the fulfilling of the law."

## SECTION I.—PROPORTION.

I have long felt, whether rightly or wrongly, that to cleanse and purify in our hearts the whole assemblage of thoughts that have come to be associated in our minds with the Apostolic See and with that vast multitude who are in communion with it is a special need of our time and the one and only way to Reunion.

To hate Rome and to misrepresent her teaching cannot be shown to be a part of our religious duty; and if the computation be correct that reckoning by tens of millions, the Roman, Greek, and Anglican Communions are related as 24: 10: 2½; and if the wondrous history of the Holy See, extending over so long a duration of time and maintaining its identity in spite of continuous opposition, have anything to teach us, we shall be constrained to allow that the vast body of the Roman Communion, numerically, historically and philosophically, holds the first place; numerically, because she comprises no fewer than 240,000,000 of Christians; historically, because in Holy Scripture and afterwards throughout the entire range of Church History she occupies a position at once unique and conspicuous, having a special relation, moreover, to ourselves as the mother of our Christianity; and, philosophically, because she everywhere teaches the same faith and has in all times consistently claimed submission from those outside her.

If these are facts, and if it be true that no philosophy can endure that is not based upon facts, it must be right to face them.

## I.

In this respect the want of proportion in much that we see about us constitutes a temptation to be satirical that is not easy to withstand.

I shall strain every nerve to avoid it in the pages of this book; but it is not easy, surely, to hold our tongues and to keep silence, when leaders who have otherwise commanded the respect even of those who could not agree with them, openly proclaim what they consider to be the hopelessness of the chasm which separates England from Rome on one day, and are found giving their sanction and their blessing to a vast undenominational body on the next.

It will not do, in a scientific age, when men are taught to weigh evidence and to hear the other side, to have one code of morals for one school of thought and a different code for another. All alike repeat the Creed which speaks of a Church that is one and a Church that is Catholic; and all alike must therefore reckon with this article of faith and ask themselves what they mean by it.

## II.

The case, then, appears to stand thus. Two significant movements, one of which may be described as Catholic and the other as Evangelical, united in their aims but diametrically opposed in the means which they think it right to adopt have been in progress during the past sixty years within what is known as the Church of England.

The Oxford Movement dates from the year 1833, and the Evangelical Alliance from the year 1846.

Not a few of the more advanced among the Oxford leaders went over to the Communion of Rome; and others made distinct and formal advances to the Holy See.

Thus in 1857 the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom was set on foot; and seven years later the famous Letter, signed by one hundred and ninety-eight Anglican Clergymen, was addressed to Cardinal Patrizzi and presented on their behalf by Mgr. Talbot. Our Evangelical brethren, on the other hand, at once

began to set about developing the principle that has come to be known as Undenominationalism. I beg not to be misunderstood if I go on to quote what Spurgeon is alleged to have said of this school of thought in the Anglican Communion. They were not Churchmen, he said, but Dissenters who had lost their way. Dissenterisers, I suppose he would have said, if the word had not so unmusical a sound; just as some people love to describe the Clergy who are Roman in their tastes and leanings as Romanisers. Nor should I resent such a description except in so far as it was understood to imply any tortuous policy or underhand dealing of any kind.

Our Evangelical brethren are anxious to promote Evangelical principles; and they unite with members of the Separatist bodies for that purpose. Let us see to what extent they so unite. They meet for purposes of prayer and conference, dropping for the time being all that is distinctive of their own Communion. In some cases they have sermons and collections in their Churches on behalf of this Undenominational Body, and this in a few instances, with the sanction of their own Bishop; and he in his turn—this happened recently in one of our Dioceses—allows himself subsequently to preside at their annual meeting and so to give his blessing to it. Now the Evangelical Alliance includes in its ranks Episcopalians, Lutherans, Baptists, Independents, Methodists, and Moravians; I desire to say no disrespectful words of them, but, to select one instance, what are the tenets of the Moravians? They are understood to hold.

- (1) That when a man has a living faith in Christ he is justified.
- (2) That this living faith is always given in a moment.
- (3) That in that moment he has peace with God.
- (4) That he cannot have this peace without knowing that he has it.
- (5) That being born of God he sinneth not, etc.

Now it is the question of proportion that is before us, and I select this instance in order to illustrate what I

mean by the hitherto disproportionate relations of the Anglican Church to those outside her, and how I should seek to promote their adjustment.

I will address myself then directly to my brethren in these words: "You were present yesterday, I hear, at an Undenominational Meeting, the Baptist Minister being present also; I forget whether you said he was presiding. But you offered prayer in your several turns, and an address was given by one of you for the benefit of all the rest. I am anxious to tell you, on the other hand, where I was on that day. I was at the Presbytery in Farm Street, holding a conversation with one of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and listening to an interesting exposition of Roman teaching on the subject of the Blessed Virgin.

"It would appear, then, that some of your school will be found to touch and to coalesce with Dissent at one end, while some members of our school are related in the same way to Roman teaching at the other. In so speaking I do not mean to imply that the parallel between these two relations is complete because, you will remember that whereas we recognise the Orders of a Roman Priest we do not recognise the ordination of a Dissenting Minister; and while your principle of Undenominationalism may be described, I think, as a modern experiment, our former union with the Holy See for nine hundred years, is a certain historical fact."

Let me illustrate these relations in another way.

At the Rhyl Church Congress in 1891, the Archbishop of York is reported to have addressed his audience thus: "Are not the greater part of these Nonconformists," he said, "united with us in the great brotherhood of the baptised? . . . . Courtesy and brotherly kindness manifesting themselves in friendly social relations even with those who are the appointed ministers of the Nonconformist bodies—I see no difficulty in this. I see a great beauty in it. Whatever differences may divide us we are still the children of our Common Father in Heaven

. . . . Points of difference, however aggravated by bitter contentions wear a very different aspect when the men who so differ meet at the same dinner table from the aspect which they bear when they are discussed in the columns of the newspaper."

Now what I am going to say must not be mistaken for insolence; the Archbishop was alluding to our Nonconformist brethren and to them alone; but do not his words enshrine a principle which extends beyond the particular application he gave to them? I rejoice to reflect how heartily his advice has been followed. At the Birmingham Church Congress, for instance, one of our leading clergy was the guest, I believe, of the Rev. Dr. Dale, the Congregational Minister whose writings are known to so many of us and the beauty of whose character was revered by us all. I fear lest I should seem to be personal, and Dr. Dale is no longer with us now, but are we to suppose that no religious topics were touched on that occasion? And so again, to select another instance, in the case of our numerous Nonconformist brethren who were so kind and hospitable at the Newcastle Congress, was the subject of religion put on one side in this case? And if so, was it so treated as a matter of expediency or on principle? I have special reasons for asking because I spent six days of my last holidays in one of our Dominican Monasteries in England, and was most kindly and hospitably entertained by the Father Prior. I had the advantage of the beautiful and extensive library during the day, and as regards the different aspect that some contentious subjects are apt to wear when one discusses them over the dinner table I can confirm from my own experience the principle enunciated in the Archbishop's words. I should have to write on for many pages if I were to set myself to exhaust the strange misapprehensions we many of us entertain as regards the persons and principles of our brethren. It is certainly true, at least it proved so then, that if we could open up lines

of communication and social intercourse, so far, there is little doubt that our unhappy divisions would soon be in considerable danger. What interesting talks we had in those few bright days! About St. Thomas Aquinas, the most famous of all the Dominicans, or about Lacordaire, another illustrious member of the same Order. Another time the question would turn, perhaps, on Old Testament problems and on the work of the *Revue Biblique* and the serious and deliberate efforts of the Père Lagrange, another famous Dominican, to untie some of the more difficult knots of Inspiration and Revelation. In this connection the Father Prior had much that was interesting to say as to the philosophy of St. Thomas, of whom he is himself an ardent student.

I abstained from all services in the beautiful church, tempting though they were, especially on the Corpus Christi Festival. But I did so on principle, as I am not able to go so far as my Evangelical brethren in that respect. It was opening up lines of communication within the principles deliberately adopted on both sides; and so of course with my meals, which I had for the most part alone except when the Father Prior came in to be with me.

“Come and See” were the words so often in my mind; and especially later on, when I found myself drawing near to the end of my holiday, and the question of some vague rumour about the Jesuits came back to my mind, the thought would come to me—how un-English it is and unfair to listen to all these rumours about our brethren, or merely to read about them in the papers when a walk of half an hour would take us to their own home where we could see the living men themselves. Nothing in this world turns out as we expect it; and it is only fair to warn others that if they wish to maintain their prejudices about the Jesuit Fathers it will be necessary for them to keep their distance; speaking from my own experience, I found them human, out-

spoken, and genuine. And I can perfectly understand now how it is that our Evangelical brethren have been enabled to drop many of their prejudices. It is personal contact that has done it; and if they desire any further confirmation of their principles I can provide them with an instance from my own experience. Now let no one confuse what I am saying with the spirit of indifference or indifferentism in the things of religion. That is something absolutely distinct. What I am speaking of is the opening up of lines of communication, by means of personal contact, in a Roman as well as a Nonconformist direction, and going straight to headquarters for evidence. And what I have so far attempted to do has been to bend the stick the other way in order to straighten it. I beg my Nonconformist and Evangelical brethren once again not to mistake my meaning or to suspect any ill-nature behind what I have said; I am contending for a principle, and, I repeat, if lines of communication have been opened up along so many routes in the direction of Dissent, it is not merely a case of "So also" but of "Much more" truly may such lines be opened in the direction of Rome and the Holy See. But I must ask my brethren of the Evangelical clergy to bear with me as I pursue this point; for some of them, I know, are in the habit of maintaining that the Prayer Book is on their side and against me; and that Evangelicalism alone represents the substantial teaching of its words. Are they sure of this? Let us make some attempt, then, here to see ourselves as others see us; and with a view to this I will quote the words of the late Dr. Murray, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, of Dr. Parker, a representative Congregationalist minister, and of Mr. Stirling, who conscientiously resigned his position in the Church of England, and whose whole heart and soul is in the Protestant cause. Dr. Murray says:—

"There are no irreconcilable differences if only the Church of England people were true to the principles



laid down in their Prayer Book. The doctrinal differences which appear considerable but are not so would soon be removed."

On the other side we have Dr. Parker assuring us that the Prayer Book is "drenched with Popery;" and writing under the date April 4th, 1899, to the English Churchman, Mr. Stirling says: "I desire to ask the Protestants of England through your widely read columns, whether they are prepared to look facts fully in the face, and to admit that there are weak points in the armour of a Church, which may be Protestant in the main, but is vulnerable in her book of Common Prayer. That book contains, alas, fifteen Popish germs, and of these the Catholic Revival has been evolved. . . . Are unpleasant facts to be blinked at, and their strong points, and our weak ones, to be ignored? Are we to go about the country lecturing and holding up the Prayer Book, and exclaiming, "We are Prayer Book men, and we demand that the Romanizers shall be made to conform to this book?" "Why, Sir, they appeal to that book with its "ornaments rubric" and claim, most plausibly, that it prescribes their Romish "ornaments of the Church and Ministers," the Mass Vestments and as a corollary the Mass! They assert from the pulpit, the platform, and in the Press that Priestly Absolution is the doctrine of the Prayer Book, and that the Sacrament of Penance is not alien to its teaching; and they quote passage after passage in support of their pretensions. . . ."

I am not uttering any note of triumph nor desiring to take any unfair advantage of language which does credit to the candour of those who have given expression to it; but is it not fair to say that we have here from the mouths of three distinct witnesses a coincidence at once undesigned and unmistakeable? In any case I would venture to commend this evidence to the attention of Mr. Henry Miller, the Secretary of the Church Association, who has allowed himself to say, in good faith of course, but with an inadequate grasp, I think, of the

situation : "It would be better that a dishonest clergy should be 'disestablished' than that the Protestant religion established by law should continue to be disestablished by them."

## VI.

But this way of viewing the question—of affecting, I mean, to be astonished at the disproportion between our attitude towards Dissent and our attitude towards the Holy See is abstract and unreal. For, apart from the heritage of ancient enmities and "festering resentments," the long period of Penal laws goes some way towards explaining this want of proportion in the past ; and although seventy years have elapsed since the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act we are only very gradually coming to realise its significance ; meantime it will be allowed, I think, that in the course of a single generation its effect has been to wear down not a little of the ancient prejudice against the Holy See, and to make much of the old language about Rome unreal and unmeaning.

It could not well be otherwise ; for there is, after all, no royal road to knowledge, the application of the mind and actual contact being the only proper means ; but where these are away, as for a long course of time they were away in relation to our Roman brethren and their teaching, the activity of the imagination, supported by inherited but unanalysed prejudice, steps into the gap with results that are not difficult to foresee.

To speak, then, of the Roman position as though every one in England had held it in his hands and fingered it, and after mature deliberation had been led to renounce it, is unreal and contrary to fact ; scarcely a day passing without some unfounded suspicion or misunderstanding being brought out to view. Ask any average Anglican to describe on paper the proper meaning of the infallibility of the Pope, of the dignity of

the Blessed Virgin, or the Primacy of St. Peter, of the doctrine of Indulgences, or even of the doctrine of Transubstantiation; and although he will say, perhaps, that every one of them is known to stand for what is false, he will not be able to produce a definition of one of them that is true.

And yet will any one say that reunion with Rome is impossible and at the same time be constrained to confess that he does not know what Rome is?

## VII.

Now the Catholic Emancipation Act, by its very title, signified the liberation of our Roman brethren from the prison house in which our prejudice had placed them. They ceased, from that time, to form an awkward squad, or to move about the country like a band of lepers, to be avoided by the multitude; and after mingling with the crowd, they soon found their way to the front, and claimed their share in the government of their country, and in most, if not in all cases, adorned the positions they were called upon to occupy; until at length circumstances were found to have altered cases and actual contact to have brought about a revolution in many minds.

It is scarcely too much, I think, to say that for the last half century the English people have been undergoing a progressive conversion; slow perhaps, and only in a few instances extending beyond the persons of our brethren to the dogmatic positions which they hold; but a conversion that is sure, as far as it goes, and pregnant with the issues of reunion.

Let anyone steadily contemplate the significance of what we have lived to see. The religion of Roman Catholics has been held up before us, and the personal characters of some of its most distinguished representatives, lay as well as Ecclesiastical, have been borne in upon our minds from various points of view; and with

our eyes directed towards their persons, the Creed which they cherish being for the time away from our thoughts, we have deliberately placed them over our heads in positions of trust and responsibility; thereby betraying, however unconsciously to ourselves, the sincere trust we have learnt to repose in the integrity and uprightness of their characters. Nor can we say, for instance, that it has been in spite of their creed that Roman Catholics, so distinguished in their several positions as the Duke of Norfolk and the late Lord Russell of Killowen, have won the respect and admiration of the English people. Generous words were said of the latter after his death, but not more generous than he was held to deserve; and the same article which praised his virtues spoke also of his having been a "fervent Catholic." "In his conduct of cases on the Bench he was, as might have been expected from one so conscientious and zealous for right, peculiarly interested in seeing that substantial justice was done." And, again, "Very few of those who preceded him in his position as Chief Justice made such great and frequent sacrifices of time and convenience for movements intended to promote the welfare of the people."

Nor is this an isolated instance, but may rather be accepted as a type of many others.

### VIII.

In his speech on "the Relations between Catholics and Protestants in England," at the Catholic Reunion in 1880, Cardinal Newman pointed out that "the Catholics in England, fifty years ago, were an unknown sect among us. Now there is hardly a family but has brothers or sisters, or cousins or connections, or friends and acquaintances, or associates in business or work, of that religion, not to mention the large influx of population from the sister island; and such an interpenetration of Catholics with Protestants, especially in our great cities, could not

take place without there being gradual accumulation of experience, slow indeed but therefore the more sure about individual Catholics, and what they are in character, and whether or not they can be trusted in the concerns and intercourse of life. And I fancy that Protestants spontaneously and before setting about to form a judgment, have found them to be men whom they could be drawn to like and to love quite as much as their fellow protestants might be, human beings whom they could be interested in and could sympathise with, and interchange good offices with, before the question of religion came into consideration. . . . I have been speaking of those ordinary and visible traits of character, of what is human merely, what is social in personal bearing, of what as a moral magnetism unites men to each other, of those qualities which are the basis, the *sine quâ non* of a political community—of those qualities which may be expressed by the word “neighbourly;” and I say that Catholics as a body are to say the least quite as neighbourly as Protestants, as attractive, as capable of uniting in civil society; and I say that in consequence their multiplication in England by making them visible, tangible, sensible must as an inevitable consequence create a more kindly feeling to them than has existed hitherto; and it has done. . . . I will only say in conclusion that though Englishmen are much more friendly to us as individuals, I see nothing to make me think that they are more friendly to our religion. . . . The great question remains to decide whether it is possible for a country to continue any long time in the unnatural position of thinking ill of a religion and thinking well of believers in it. One would expect that either dislike of the religion would create an unfriendly feeling towards its followers or friendliness towards its followers would ensure goodwill towards the religion.

“How this problem will be solved is one of the secrets of the future.”

And in commenting upon this address the *Times* said: "The truth of much in Cardinal Newman's explanation of the amended relations between English Protestants and English Roman Catholics cannot be denied. No Englishman would wish to deny it. It must be acknowledged, also, that Protestants, confronted with Catholics in the communications of daily life, were unable to continue to think the religion they professed immoral or debasing."

Times have certainly changed and we have changed with them. Our principal care, then, should be not to perpetuate the unreality of dissembling this change, but to find a proper interpretation for it in the light of our fuller knowledge and experience.

Meantime one thing at least is certain; anything like the manifestly unequal treatment which has been too common in past years will no longer be endured.

If some of our leaders and others who are associated with them think it right to lend their countenance to Undenominationalism, or again to Rationalism; or to condone what can only be described as the wholesale denial of the supernatural, that is so far a matter for their own consciences; but a sense of proportion is manifestly wanting to them if after indulging themselves without any apparent restraint both doctrinally and socially, in one direction; they go on to describe others as dishonest for making any advances whatsoever in the direction of Rome.

## SECTION II.—THEORY AND PRACTICE.

Having so far cleared the way, it will be necessary, in following up this question, to distinguish between theories which are advanced with a view to promote discussion and the actual recommendation of practical steps. This distinction is recognised in every science.

In the sphere of Civil Government, for instance, a Bill that is still under discussion is not to be confounded with a Statute or Act of Parliament; and yet in the course of discussion it will be necessary to look into the future and to picture the measure as if it had already received the Royal Assent, in order to appreciate it in all its practical bearings. Thus the ideal, while it must needs be considered as though it were the real,—within the House, will at the same time be ignored for all practical purposes outside.

And so again in the sphere of Physical Science, there is the inner circle of representative and distinguished savants who follow a hypothesis and continue to discuss it from the outset as though it were an established fact, all that looks in the contrary direction being first recognised and then ignored for purposes of research; while in the outside world all goes on as before, and the hypothesis perhaps, in the event, has to be modified or even altogether abandoned.

### I.

An instance of what I have been describing is adduced in a recent number of the *Dublin Review*.

In the course of a profoundly interesting article upon the subject of "Scientific Speculation and the Unity of Truth" Mr. Froude, a Fellow of the Royal Society and a Roman Catholic, calls attention to this attitude of the scientific mind.

In the case of what is known as the "Stream line theory" in Hydro-dynamics, an ideally perfect fluidity is assumed throughout, and this in spite of certain forces of resistance due to viscosity or friction in the particles of water gliding past one another—forces which cannot be described as practically insignificant; the assumption being entertained in spite of them solely on the ground that it is necessary to mathematics. So again in another portion of the Holy Catholic Church the ques

tion of the Immaculate Conception was entertained as an opinion by some and stoutly denied by others over a long course of some hundreds of years before it was finally fixed and declared to be a doctrine by definition.

And so, to apply these illustrations to the present case, the enterprise of Reunion, in that special view of it which I am led to adopt, that is, considered as centering round the question of the Holy See, may have to be debated over a long course of years, formidable difficulties being encountered meantime, and yet is it not therefore to be abandoned; having an *à fortiori* argument in its favour when a comparison is made with mundane speculations; the desire to recover a lost position and to realise a divine ideal manifestly belonging to a higher level than any vague project of a merely human thinker.

Here again the assumption of a possible reunion of England with the Holy See must be entertained in spite of obstacles which cannot be described as insignificant and solely on the ground that it is necessary to the Science of Reunion.

In any case the plane of discussion must be considered as distinct from the plane of action; and formidable difficulties must not be allowed to bar the way.

Some hypotheses, of course, must be ruled out of court as being extravagant or against all experience; but unless every enterprise of Reunion is to be pronounced immoral or unreasonable as such free and ample scope must be allowed for theory however dim or distant the hopes to which it appears to point.

## II.

Some difficulties will be found to wait on every hypothesis; and a way will sometimes be opened precisely at that very point where a passage has been before pronounced impossible. In the great South African War, it is said, an entrance into one of the



besieged towns was ultimately effected after many fruitless efforts in other directions by that one way which, of all others, had been pronounced by experts living on the spot to be hopeless. So with the Christian Church, beset by unhappy divisions, subjected to numberless privations, and reduced to a state of the gravest anxiety for her life and health, the Roman route must not be thrust on one side in favour of any and of every other; nor, especially in view of the wondrous history of the Holy See, must it be pronounced impossible as if by the voice of infallibility. On the contrary, there are many reasons for thinking that it may offer the one way by which the siege will ultimately be raised. But whatever the route may be, and if any route whatever is to be accomplished—to revert to a former illustration—the subject of Reunion must be allowed to come before us in the shape of a Bill for discussion, and that discussion must itself be free and fair before we can hope to place it on the statute book of the Church as an Act. Projects of reunion with Dissent have been so discussed in our day, not to say acted upon; rationalistic theories, too, have been freely broached; and so must it also be with the theory that is known as Roman.

### SECTION III.—THE STATE OF PARTIES.

From what has already been said it will be evident that the subject before us requires to be treated as a question of science and not merely of sentiment, that as certain laws in the constitution of nature are so uniform as to be termed general, it being our wisdom and duty to obey them, so is it our duty and wisdom to recognise and to obey certain general laws in the constitution of Christendom.

There is scope in either case for observation to discover these laws and for experiment to establish them;

and whereas miracles have certainly been known to happen in both spheres, we do not allow ourselves to expect them in either.

## I.

Now a divided Christendom has survived long enough to have had a history of its own; and the course of this history will be found to have brought out to view certain broad characteristics in the several parties or sections of the Christian world; characteristics which, for the purpose that is before us, may be said to constitute their proper functions.

I have made some attempt in another chapter to describe in outline the more serious efforts that have been made to heal the disastrous divisions of Christendom since the days of the Reformation, and these will, I think, serve to convince every candid mind that some sections of the Church possess a capacity for movement, and therefore also for adaptation, which is impossible in the very nature of things for others.

## II.

If, for instance, the attempt to change Rome, at least as regards her formal positions, after having been subjected to continuous experiments, extending over a long course of time, has been attended by failure which may be described as practically uniform, this should be recognised at length as an experience and therefore as a fact; henceforth, to remain formally as she is, to explain and expound her teaching, and to continue to raise the standard of spiritual life among her children should be acknowledged as the proper function of the Roman Church in this enterprise.

From this point of view, instead of saying that she is hopeless because she will not change we ought rather to say that the fact of Rome's not changing is proved

to be an abiding fact and must be reckoned with as such. In other words, instead of saying that our end is to change Rome we should say that the starting point of our enterprise is the fact that she cannot change.

### III.

In the same way I should say that the proper function of the Anglican Church and also of the Dissenting bodies is to change and to move, since this is in fact what they ever have done. A commonplace illustration of this has recently come under my notice, and it may serve as a type of many others like itself. A friend of mine received a letter from an incumbent in one of our parishes, asking if he knew of anyone who would be willing to work with him. "Our use here," he wrote, "is—Daily Eucharist, coloured stoles, no extremes."

Compare this with the conditions of sixty years ago and the extraordinary commotion occasioned by the surplice riots?

Or again, I take up one of our church papers, a paper whose circulation is by no means limited to this country and which numbers some seventy thousand people among its readers, and I light upon a leading article with the title above it—"Hearing Mass;" a habit which it goes on to describe not merely as a privilege but as a duty. Try, if you can, to realise the effect of such an article fifty or even thirty years ago; and then contrast this with the stationariness of Rome. Freewill does not mean a will that is absolutely free, whether in the case of individuals or corporations; and societies and individuals alike can only move within such limitations as their own essential nature imposes upon them.

### IV.

If—to touch lightly some principal instances—in the latter half of the sixteenth century (A.D. 1560–1606)

the efforts of George Cassander and others to promote Reunion by appealing to universal tradition and consent, or to "Articles of Comprehension," were frustrated by Jesuits such as Canisius "supported by the unyielding attitude of Popes Paul IV, Pius V, and Paul V;" if in the seventeenth century the determined and repeated efforts of Leibnitz, the most gifted mind and philosopher of Germany, conducted upon the same lines were absolutely rejected by a moderate and yet representative exponent of the Roman Church in the person of Bossuet, supported as he was by the Pope of his day and the King of France; if in the eighteenth century the laborious efforts of so considerable a theologian as Dupin, supported by the famous doctors of the Sorbonne, conducted again upon a similar but one-sided proposal of give and take were ultimately frustrated; his papers being seized and sent to Rome where "the whole affair was disapproved of and condemned in 1719;" and if, once more, in the nineteenth century, so noble and liberal-minded a theologian as Lacordaire, writing in 1840, in answer to similar advances on the part of some of the Greek priests, could allow himself deliberately to reply: "The real Church does not ask for the reunion of the Apostolic Churches; she asks that all may bend the knee before her . . .;" if, in 1865, the efforts of the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom addressed directly to the Holy See were decisively rejected on the same grounds; and if at length in 1894, the advances of Viscount Halifax, supported by Roman theologians of name, were kindly entertained and yet once more unreservedly rejected—if we may rightly call these representative instances, they would seem to rise to the level of what I have called a general law, a historical and philosophical phenomenon, requiring something more than mere accident to explain it; so much so that if any one after this should suggest once again the conditions proposed by Leibnitz, viz. that the Pope be required "to take

off anathemas and excommunications from Protestants," we should be justified in saying at once that experience was against it, and that to persevere on such lines would mean the wasting of his own time as well as the time of others.

## V.

What were all these attempts but so many experiments, conducted in good faith and not without due deliberation, and yet all of them converging to one and the same conclusion? It seems to me that efforts, such as I have indicated here and more fully described elsewhere, undertaken, every one of them, by men of such high ability and integrity on either side, and extending over so considerable a duration of time must be regarded as constituting a chapter of experience in the history of Reunion which may be said to have come to an end with the close of the nineteenth century.

With such facts before us it is mockery to say that Rome refuses to surrender because she will not when a little careful thought might have convinced us that she refuses to surrender because she cannot.

An "infallible Church" may explain her formal positions and in the act of doing so may in a sense adapt them; but she cannot in the very nature of things contradict them. How would it subserve the cause of unity for the entire multitude of some 240,000,000 of Roman Catholics to walk out through one door of the Church as we entered by another? And yet this, and nothing less than this, is what must happen if she surrenders, I do not say discusses or explains, her formal claims.

One of her own Communion has stated the case for us in a form that appears incontrovertible: "It is," he observes, "a startling paradox but an equally certain truth, that in the very 'obstinacy' of Rome lies all hope of Reunion. Without it all hope of reunion would be impossible. Without it the very elements of Unity

would be hopelessly destroyed. . . . At the very moment of that concession (on the part of Rome, that is) the millions who now believe in the Church would find it impossible to believe in her any longer." Again,—"The very act which it is hoped would bring the Anglicans into Communion with Rome would drive the present Catholics out of it."

## VI.

If, then, Mr. Balfour is right in saying that "large changes and adaptations of belief are possible within the limits of the same unchanging formulas," in that sense Rome, perhaps, can change her beliefs, but in no other; and this is what I mean by saying that she cannot formally change. She can change, that is, within her formulas, but she cannot change her formulas as such; her function in the complex and elaborate operations of Reunion being ever to continue in one stay. Again, as regards the Separatist bodies, if we look back over the past three hundred years, they have discovered a uniform tendency to divide and to multiply their divisions; and if at the beginning of a new century they are seen to be forming themselves into Alliances and Federations, and betaking themselves to Free Church Catechisms, may we not recognise in all this at once a warning and a confession; a warning against the very principle of separation as containing within itself the seeds of its own destruction and a confession that after all a rule of faith there must be and that the Bible by itself is inadequate. As regards the Anglican Communion, it will generally be allowed that, while she has discovered a manifold activity in the direction of good works and also an activity of thought and opinion in almost every direction, the body as a whole being found to sway backwards and forwards within a range that touches and even coalesces with Dissent at one end, and with the religion of Rome at the other; she has

also discovered a settled spirit of comprehension which has successfully defied all attempts to reduce it. Now this characteristic, which, in the eyes of some persons, is the special glory of the English Church, may not be so regarded by us; but it has one virtue certainly, it is the fast friend of Reunion. For if two bodies are separate and neither can move there is an end of the matter; but if one of the two is ever moving and the other never moves there will always be some hope. It is surely this broad characteristic of the English Church that has given rise to famous sayings like that of De Maistre, so often quoted in this connection:—"Si jamais les Chrétiens se rapprochent, comme tout les y invite, il semble que la motion doit partir de l'Eglise d'Angleterre."

If we are to take our stand upon facts—and it is idle to do otherwise—and if policy be rightly defined as the science of the possible, the policy of converting Rome is surely no policy at all.

## VII.

Such is the verdict of experience; and efforts must not be described as failures because they fail of their objects; to draw the enemies' guns may be a necessary step, and even essential to the success of any particular action which in its turn is necessary to the ultimate realisation of peace.

Roman Catholics all the world over have certain grounds for believing all that they believe; each separate article of their faith being ultimately accepted by them on the authority of the Church; and that constitutes their one point of difference with all other Communions; with the settlement of that difference all other differences will be found to disappear.

On the other hand it is not always remembered what a wide range the Anglican Church has to move in; for over and beyond that actual tendency to move and change which the experience of history discloses, she has

before her Holy Scripture and whatsoever the Catholic Fathers have collected from the same.

The Canon of 1571 runs thus: "Let Preachers take care that they never teach anything in a sermon which they wish to be religiously held and believed by the people, except what is in accord with the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and what the Catholic Fathers and the ancient bishops have collected from the same doctrine."

And at the Lambeth Conference in 1888 the Committee appointed to consider "What steps (if any) can be rightly taken on behalf of the Anglican Communion towards the reunion of the various bodies into which the Christianity of the English speaking races is divided, referred to the Six Great Councils in the following words: "With regard to the authority of the Œcumenical Councils, our Communion has always recognised the decisions of the first four Councils on matters of faith, nor is there any point of dogma in which it disagrees with the teaching of the fifth and sixth."

If then the question of Reunion is to be regarded as a question of science and not of sentiment; in other words if we are to take our stand upon fact the case appears so far to stand thus.

- (1) Rome, because of her essential nature, does not move because she cannot.
- (2) England has never ceased during the past three hundred years to move, so that all experience proves that she can.
- (3) The compass within which she can freely move is represented by—
  - (a) Holy Scripture, in the light of progressive interpretation.
  - (b) With what the Catholic Fathers and Bishops, and the dogmatic decisions of the six Great Councils have laid down to impose a proper limit to that interpretation.



Will it be said that with so wide a compass to range up and down in, it is impossible to reduce the apparent distance between ourselves and the Holy See? I should be interested to hear what answer historical scholars would return to that question. Will it be possible to walk up and down through the length and breadth of that period and not be forced to recognise the Holy See as in some sense, and at that time, the visible centre of Christendom?

Is it certain that it is possible to be truly primitive without being in some sense Roman?

Is it even certain that the Primacy which is alleged as attaching to the Holy See may not exist in some shape within the Anglican pocket, if we dive down deep enough to find it?

The Canon speaks of what we are to teach in our public sermons; I am not here contemplating that except in the possible future. My aim is to provoke further discussion, and to substitute conference for controversy in order to approximate to the Roman position and not to triumphantly denounce it.

And the immediate point before us here is, that Rome as a fact cannot move except within the sphere of explanation; and that England, on the other hand, has a far wider range before her.

We must know where we are before we can speak intelligently of where we would be.

I will now set down a few illustrations of what I have been saying, and in doing so will make some attempt to show how far experience may help us to a solution of our difficulties.

## SECTION IV.—THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

I have already said that within the Anglican Church some are found to touch and to coalesce with Dissent at one end, and some again are related in the same way to Roman teaching at the other.

And first as regards the former of these sections :

## I.

In the person of Prebendary Webb Peploe we recognise if not the leader of Evangelical thought in England, at least one of its acknowledged representatives; respected by thousands of people not merely as one of the most zealous workers in London, but also as the one of all others to whom they owe under God, almost every good impulse of their lives; one who is conscientiously unable to oppose the teaching of Dissent and unable conscientiously to refrain from opposing the Tractarian and Roman Schools of thought.

## II.

On the other hand at the opposite pole of thought we have in Dr. Pusey a teacher who suffered conscientiously for doctrines which are abhorrent to Mr. Webb Peploe, but who, at least in his later days, not only made formal advances towards Rome but who could not be prevailed upon formally to attack her. More than this, representing as he did the thousands of those who compose what is known as the advanced school of thought, he was still able to say in his old age that he "loved the Evangelicals."

And in conjunction with this allusion to Dr. Pusey I will make a quotation from the writings of Canon Everest who in his *Gift of the Keys* has allowed us to see how in the course of a long life the special difficulties of the

Anglican position have affected him and how far he recognised in the formal position of the Roman Church a solution to those difficulties :

PREBENDARY  
WEBB PEPLOE.

Writing in 1900 he says: \*  
"The fallacy that one man has the power to communicate to another the mercy of God in an authoritative manner . . . is swept away for ever."

He recognises, it should be added, that the Visitation Office "doubtless presents certain difficulties,"—in allusion to the words "By His authority committed unto me I absolve thee from all thy sins."

DR. PUSEY.

"The English Church has not rejected a visible head ; but only disowns as the Eastern Church does, the Monarchy of the Bishop of Rome."—*Eirenicon*.

CANON EVEREST.

Writing in 1895 he says: †  
"Did our Lord when He founded His Church provide that it should be presided over by a visible head as part of its Divine and therefore unless changed by the same authority unalterable constitution? Upon the affirmative of this proposition Rome builds up her claims.

"Her contention is that our Lord did provide a visible headship for His Church; and that this headship was to be the prerogative of St. Peter's successors. And so far I have long been convinced that her claims are just, being provable both by Holy Scripture and the testimony of the undivided Church; and that being thus provable they constitute part of her 'ancient

\* *Christ and His Church*, p. 11.

† *Gift of the Keys*, p. 2.

CANON EVEREST.—*con.*

integrity,' in which she has never 'fallen from herself;' and are therefore recognised by the English Church according to the declaration of her thirtieth Canon."

From this it will appear that teachers representing the maximum of dissent at the one end and the minimum of Roman teaching at the other have secured a footing and even a representative position within what may be called the Anglican enclosure; and as the new century opens the question of Reunion as it presents itself to my mind is whether these two elements or positions are necessarily antithetic and contradictory, or whether there is any living connexion or relation between them which will enable them ultimately to meet and to coalesce.

Now, if in attempting to indicate an answer to this question I appeal somewhat frequently to the name and teaching of John Henry Newman, it is because I seem to recognise in him one who occupies the same position in relation to Theological as Charles Darwin does to Physical Science. For, over and above the extraordinary reach of his mind, his exquisite powers of observation and the unworldliness of his character, his relation to the religious problems of the century, his opportunities for observing the working of various religious systems, and the fact that he lived long enough to be able to correct and to leave on record the correction of some of those obstinate prejudices which represent the chief obstructions in the path of Reunion at the present time; all this gives to him a position which is absolutely unique.

"What is perfectly clear to anyone who can appreciate Cardinal Newman at all," says a critic so keen and a writer so single-minded as the late Editor of the *Spectator*, "is that from the beginning to the end of his

career he has been penetrated by a fervent love of God, a fervent gratitude for the Christian revelation, and a steadfast resolve to devote the whole course of a singularly powerful and even intense character to the endeavour to promote the conversion of his fellow-countrymen from their tepid and unreal profession of Christianity to a new and profound faith in it—which new and profound faith in it could, in his belief, be gained only by the reorganisation of the Christian Church, and its reenthronement in a position of authority, even greater than that which it held in the middle ages.”

This may serve to introduce a remarkable passage from an appendix to a later edition of the *Grammar of Assent*, and in so doing to exhibit what in my judgment provides an adequate support to the hope that I have set before me in this volume; and since when he wrote this paragraph the writer was seventy-nine years of age, it may be said to represent his mature and final view of the great situation; a situation which after all must ever remain of paramount interest and importance to all of us:—

“The multitude of men indeed,” he writes, “are not consistent, logical, or thorough; they obey no law in the course of their religious views; and while they cannot reason without premisses, and premisses demand first principles, and first principles must ultimately be (in one shape or other) assumptions, they do not recognise what this involves, and are set down at this or that point in the ascending or descending scale of thought, according as their knowledge of facts, prejudices, education, domestic ties, social position, and opportunities for inquiry determine; but nevertheless there is a certain ethical character, one and the same, a system of first principles, sentiments and tastes, a mode of viewing the question and of arguing which is formally and normally, naturally and divinely, the *organum investigandi* given us for gaining religious truth, and which would lead the mind by an infallible succession from the rejection of

Atheism to Theism, and from Theism to Christianity, and from Christianity to Evangelical Religion, and from these to Catholicity."

That is a characteristic passage; and as each successive step in the process marks a crisis in the religious history of the individual, so when a sufficient number of individuals take such a step it constitutes a crisis in the history of the Church.

Now, of course, we do not at present entirely agree as to what constitutes "Catholicity," still I think it will be allowed that the history of the last sixty years supplies us with a sufficient number of instances to corroborate the Cardinal's statement.

In his own case, for instance, he might have said:—

"Are there some now who read Paine's tracts against the Old Testament and even take pleasure in the reading? So at one time did I.

"Are there some who read Voltaire's arguments against immortality and exclaim 'How plausible and yet how dreadful?' So, once, did I."

"Rejection of Atheism" (*Apologia*, p. 3).

"Did Maurice and afterwards Hutton become convinced of the truth of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity? So did I."

"Theism to Christianity" (*Apologia*, p. 7).

"Are there thousands of earnest Evangelical souls who read and love to read the works of Romaine, Newton, and Thomas Scott?

"And are they in consequence 'profoundly convinced' that the Pope is Antichrist? So, at one time, was I."

"Christianity to Evangelical Religion"  
(*Apologia*, p. 7).

"Did Faber advance from Evangelical Religion to Catholicity? So did I.

"Do men embrace what they believe to be Catholicity; accepting the three Great Branches, and yet ignoring the Pope? So at one time did I.

"It is observable (in 1836) that the question of the position of the Pope, whether as the centre of unity or as the source of jurisdiction, did not come into my thoughts at all; nor did it, I think I may say, to the end. I doubt whether I ever distinctly held any of his powers to be *de jure divino* while I was in the Anglican Church—not that I saw any difficulty in the doctrine; not that in connection with the history of St. Leo . . . the idea of his infallibility did not cross my mind, for it did—but after all in my view, the controversy did not turn upon it; it turned upon the faith and the church. This was my issue of the controversy from the beginning to the end."

"And from these to Catholicity."

It would not be difficult, I think, to adduce various and significant illustrations of the *Organum* that Newman here asks us to contemplate. Frederick Lucas, the first editor of *The Tablet*, and Mary Howitt, began life as Quakers and ended as Catholics—and Richard Holt Hutton, the late editor of *The Spectator*, to whom allusion has already been made, set out as a Unitarian, came subsequently under the influence of F. D. Maurice, who converted him to a belief in the Trinitarian faith, and eventually at a later stage, under the influence of Newman. Mr. Hutton was universally acknowledged to be one of the first critics, and one of the most candid thinkers of his time, and we find him saying at the end of his day, "I cannot adopt for myself his (Newman's) later conception of the Church of Christ, hardly even that earlier conception which led so inevitably to the later."

Now this will serve to illustrate what I have attempted to say in so many places about Proportion. To be rightly appreciated these words must be looked at not merely in relation to what Newman is at the time they are spoken, but also in relation to what Hutton himself

was many years before when it would have been impossible for him to say them.

To detach the sentence from the context of Mr. Hutton's entire course of thought is to view it out of its true proportion, and to miss its full significance. On the other hand to see it in its proper setting is to paraphrase it thus: "At this particular point of time I cannot accept the Roman Catholic position; indeed I am not quite sure that I can accept that earlier position which inevitably leads to it." In other words, "I am not a Roman Catholic to-day; but I am not at all sure that I shall not be one to-morrow."

It would scarcely be unfair, I think, to infer that if Mr. Hutton had set out in life from a more advanced stage in the progressive course he would have found himself at last in entire agreement with Newman. However this may be it is the Organum itself to which I wish to call attention.

As a telescope contains within itself more than at first sight appears, and must be drawn out in order to be realised, so at the outset a man may be convinced that he is right in laying hold of religion, and yet come only by degrees to realise all that is involved in it. Newman's position is not that a man ought to be an Atheist if he is not in Newman's sense a Catholic; but that he ought not to be an Atheist and for the same reason he ought not to be other than a Catholic. Newman was, as I have said, in his eightieth year when he laid down this statement. He had understood the Anglo-Catholic position from having lived in it and strenuously defended it; and he was subsequently able to watch it from without and to make observations. We are all apt to forget what we have been until others step in to enlighten us. Only to name some suggestive changes: In 1877, in the new edition of the *Via Media*, the author was able to place some of the statements in Tract 90—statements which had been animadverted upon by the Oxford tutors, side by side with the very



same statements by Dr. Forbes, Bishop of Brechin, in 1868. In 1841 they had been pronounced disingenuous and disgraceful; twenty-seven years afterwards they were allowed to pass. "*Prævalebit veritas*," Newman might well exclaim. "It may be interesting," he said, "to place his statements and those of the Tract in juxtaposition." Looking on from outside he was able to recognise a crisis of which others were unconscious. He brought the past to bear upon the present, and recognised a revolution; others used the language so familiar to all of us—"There was no crisis, you see, after all." Again, in a footnote to the same volume, written also in 1877, he makes another observation, which is startling, perhaps, and yet surely true:—"It is observable" (here is the distinction; he is not in the fight, but observing it from a neighbouring hill) "It is observable that at the commencement of the Oxford Movement in 1833 the insuperable obstacle, felt by High Anglicans, to communion with Rome, was the doctrine of the Tridentine Council. By 1865 they seem to have got over it, and the Vatican decrees are the obstacle now (1877). Will they be such in another forty years?" And I think it may fairly be regarded as a question how far the Vatican decrees will be considered insuperable in the year 1917.

'Those who follow after the things which make for peace will hope and pray that some *modus vivendi* may by that time have been arrived at; one at least which shall have greatly reduced the distance between us; not, as I have elsewhere said, by impossible attempts to unsay formal dogmatic Conciliar decrees, but by explaining them in the widest possible sense that is compatible with honesty and truth.

## V.

In most cases during the last fifty years, when men have said that a crisis has come, experience has, I think,

shown them to have been right; and we constantly fall into confusion from shutting our eyes to this law of progress to which we all, sooner or later, have to bow.

Each successive stage in the advance has had its champion, who has bid us move forward, and told us also where to stay; forgetting only too often that his disciples were setting out from where he himself had stopped, and not from where he started. "Thus far," he said, "shalt thou go and no farther." He had won a position in spite of a majority which was obstinately against him; but when his disciples began to push on: "I grieve to say," he interposed, "that the younger generation are going beyond anything that we have been used to sanction." Certainly, because whereas you are exhausted, they are starting afresh; and, so far, from the point of view at least of abstract principle, they are only doing now what you did before them—pushing on.

A further illustration of this is suggested by the question of the presence at the Holy Eucharist of those who do not communicate as well as of those who do. We are sometimes gravely told that we must not presume to be wiser than Keble. 'Read his work on Eucharistic Adoration,' it is said. But this is again to forget the significance of proportion, especially in relation to days of agitation and movement such as those through which we all of us now have to pass.

The question is not merely what Keble may have thought in the year 1856, but what he would have come to think in 1901.

When we remember that his curate who is still living (May 1901) was detained in Deacon's orders, for eighteen years merely for stating the doctrine of the Real Presence in an Examination Paper, the wonder is not that Keble himself should have returned a hesitating answer to the question before us, but that he should have given any kind of sanction to Eucharistic Adoration at all. In other words detach Keble's statement from its setting in 1856 and view it in relation to the question of to-

day, and the two will be found to be unequally yoked ; regard it on the other hand from the point of view of its own context, that is, see it in its due proportion and you will say : ' After all he was in advance of his own times.'

Here, then, is one aspect of the question that requires to be contemplated ; the law of progress, and the duty of viewing things and persons in their true perspective.

It will be necessary also, later on, to recognise the important function of bias, and how men of bias are to be found not merely where we should expect them but in places that astonish us.

It would be a mistake to look only to Anglicans for arguments in favour of Anglican teaching, or to Romans only for sentiments that are proper to Roman teaching. "The multitude of men are not consistent," so that we shall, in fact, hear Anglican teachers saying Roman things, and Roman teachers saying Anglican things ; Evangelical clergymen too, preaching earnestly to us the doctrines of Dissent ; and ardent opponents of Confession compelling individuals of their flock to unburden themselves in drawing-rooms whether they will or no.

All these are facts ; and it is partisans of this type and not merely the acknowledged teachers of our various schools, who while acting in good faith though not without inconsistency, appear before us as the unconscious representatives of outlying systems with which they keep us perpetually in touch.

Thus men of bias are the partial friends of the systems of thought which they affect ; and a Reunion enterprise seeks to attract all these scattered forces to itself, and bids them sit down from time to time in the same place, and say what they wish to say, not merely what is expected of them ; to put on record thoughts that have passed through their minds without necessarily taking up their abode there ; which have appealed to them to some extent without convincing them ; and which may

all serve as contributions to truth although they may not be complete truths in themselves.

In any case it will be found to dwell upon certain principles more than upon others; and so also with facts. In a recent Conference upon Reunion, for instance, the fact of the priesthood of all believers was found to be more generally recognised and to be received with more general sympathy by the representatives of various schools than other facts. It would be a plain duty, then, in future, to elevate this topic into a general standpoint.

And so with the entire doctrine of mediation as philosophically treated by Butler; and so again with the doctrine of forgiveness, and such sacred thoughts as those of the "Precious Blood;" tracing their history and fixing their relation to their surroundings in the several schools of Christian teaching.

It will be enough to have indicated this line so far. Meantime I shall now go on to speak of that measure of unity which our Lord requires of us; and then proceed to ask how far we have departed from this ideal and how we may best seek to recover it.

## CHAPTER II.

### UNITY.

The Church is understood, in the first instance, to comprise all the baptised people of the Lord, wheresoever they may be; the many millions of those who have passed beyond the veil as well as the entire number of the baptised who are still alive in the world.

But when we speak of the unity of the Church we are thinking only of this latter portion; that is, of "the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth." And it is of this portion only that our Lord is thinking in His Great High Priestly prayer (St. John xvii).

Baptism may be administered by a clergyman of any denomination whatsoever, or, where circumstances demand it, by a layman; and the act is understood to be valid provided the form presented by our Lord has been duly observed, and there has been an intention on the part of the minister to do what the Church does.

"Church" being a singular word signifies one thing; the controversy occasioned by our differences being found to turn not upon the fact of Unity but upon its nature; and the various interpretations of this nature which have obtained in the Christian world may be described as types of Unity. There are three principal types of Unity in Western Christendom; the Roman type, the Anglican type, and the type that is known as undenominational; and the test to which these and all other types have to be brought is that idea of Unity which is according to the mind of Christ and which is declared and made known unto us by His word.

Power belongs unto God ; and all that comes within the range of power comes within the reach of God ; but it would be contrary to His perfection to propose that which could not come to pass. Thus a distinction has to be drawn and recognised between the human and the divine ideal.

A human ideal must of necessity participate in the limitations of its source ; is of the nature therefore of an experiment ; and is seldom realised in fact : but " a divine ideal must be capable of fulfilment."

It will be necessary, therefore, to discover and to declare the ideal of Unity which is according to the divine will, and then to enquire how far the principal types of Unity now before the world may be said to correspond to that ideal.

## SECTION I.—THE DIVINE IDEAL.

The enterprise of Reunion is based upon two facts: the fact that we are divided and the fact that God meant us to be one. Now all Christians are agreed as to the fact of our divisions or, as I shall go on to call them, our unhappy divisions ; but there is a wide difference of opinion as to the meaning of unity ; and the purpose of this chapter is to discover, so far as we may, the nature of the Divine ideal. Our Lord must have had a meaning in His mind when He prayed that we might be one. What was that meaning ? To find the answer to this question we must read His words in Scripture, and seek for the interpretation of them in the history and experience of Holy Church.

If we fasten our attention upon the words of our Saviour in St. John xvii we shall recognise the importance of the doctrine of Unity and how it is that the note of Unity has come to be recognised from the

beginning as the first note of the Church. I shall make this prayer, then, the groundwork of all that I have to say.

And first our Lord's words run thus:—

“I pray for them; I pray not for the world, but for them which thou hast given me. . . . And now I am no more in the world but these are in the world. . . . Holy Father keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are. . . . I pray not that Thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that Thou shouldst keep them from the evil. . . . Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word: that they all may be one; as Thou, Father, in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me.

“And the glory which Thou gavest Me I have given them, that they may be one, even as We are one; I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in one; and that the world may know that Thou hast sent me, and hast loved them, as Thou hast loved Me.”

## II.

The passage, then, falls into three principal divisions:

1. The Divine Intention.
2. The Divine Means.
3. The Divine End.

1. The Divine Intention—“That they may be one;” that is, that the Apostles whom our Saviour had chosen out of the world, separated from their surroundings, instructed in the things concerning His Kingdom, and passed through a process of education directed towards a specific work, that they may be one.

And for a measure of this Unity He points us to the Godhead itself. “As Thou, Father, in Me and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us.”

Then our Saviour lifts His eyes and looks into the future, extending His project to all who should subsequently believe through their preaching. "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word, that they all may be one."

Thus, the scope of our Lord's prayer is—that portion of His Church which is visible here on earth, without any restrictions of time or place; and the intention of His prayer is—that they may be one.

2.—The Divine Means.—Next, how can this be? "The glory which Thou gavest Me I have given them; that they may be one as we are one."

Here is the gift of a supernatural power adequate to the Divine purpose; a power given to the Man Christ Jesus in the first instance and extended by Him to the visible Body of the Church afterwards.

To discover and exercise this power, then, for the purpose for which it was given, should be the aim of the Church as a whole and of the members of the Church in particular.

3. The Divine End. And what is the aim of this Unity? "That the world may believe."

The man of the world has to be converted to the Faith; he has common sense but is without spiritual discernment; you point him to the society and ask him to recognise it as one; he sees what you say and believes.

It is misleading, then, to contend that Unity is merely the ultimate triumph of our cause, when our Lord expressly says that it is meant to be the cause of our triumph.

Unity is the first note of the Church, a divine instrument for the conversion of the world; and our Lord, knowing what was in man, not merely proclaimed the great purpose but also prescribed the Divine means.



## SECTION II.—THE CHURCH OF THE BIBLE.

Now as a matter of history, this purpose was fulfilled in the Church of the first days; and this accounts for the term Reunion; the Unity of the Church being something that has been once experienced and afterwards lost, not something that we never experienced at all.

## I.

In answer to the question—What shall we do? the new converts are told by the Apostles to repent and be baptised into the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins; and that “the promise is unto you and your children and to all that are afar off even as many as the Lord our God shall call.” And after fulfilling these conditions they are said to have been “added” to the Apostolic Body; “The same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls.”

Then we have a picture of their state:—“All that believed were together and had all things common.” This was how they interpreted the spirit and teaching of our Saviour. “They continued stedfastly in the Apostles’ doctrine and fellowship and in the breaking of the bread and in the prayers.”

Here, then, is the immediate and precise fulfilment of our Lord’s prayer, the Apostles themselves and those who had subsequently believed through their word, are before us, and they are one. Unity is a fact and not merely a forecast in the Church of the New Testament.

Let this passage be carefully weighed. The Christians of the first days were not merely enlightened by the new message, but enrolled as members of the new Church; they were not merely taught about a Saviour but brought within the sphere of a society; and this two-fold relation, the relation of their minds to the teaching, and the relation of themselves to the teachers of the Gospel was

recognised by them as a matter of duty and principle. 'We must be careful to observe their teaching; we must be careful not to separate ourselves from their fellowship.'

This, I think, is implied in the word "steadfastly;" they knew that self imposed teachers would seek to turn them away from the Apostles by discrediting their message, and they set their faces against such a temptation from the first; and it is plain that as time went on and daily additions were made to the Apostolic body; when the number of Christians was so great that they could no longer live together on one spot, but natural lines of cleavage such as mountains, rivers or seas were found to intervene and so to hold them forcibly apart, not only would it become a matter of urgent necessity to establish lines of communication all over the Christian world, but also, unless the primitive plan was to be reversed, while room would have to be found for the national idea within the one Church, the one Church could never in the very nature of things be imprisoned within the nation. As I have said, in another place, correspondence is necessary if friendship of the most ordinary kind is to be abiding; but where the duty of loving one another and of doing so with a pure heart fervently is enjoined upon us as the characteristic duty of the Christian life and our Master's express wishes are before us, in language that it is impossible to explain away, we are constrained, whether we will or no, to look for Catholic sanctions not merely to the Church in England but also to the Holy Church throughout all the world.

That the Church of the Bible, then, is one; that the mark of unity not merely attaches to its profession but is visibly present in its practice appears to me to be a fact, and I will now go on to ask what is the proper significance of that fact.

## II.

Now the picture of this United Church of the New Testament is not presented to us in vacuo, but will be found to have its proper setting in the circumstances and atmosphere of the time; and as we cannot realise our Lord's life without picturing it to our minds, so we cannot appreciate the Church of the first days (Acts ii, 41—47) without the use of this historic imagination. We do not see it as it should be seen unless we see it in its proper context of prophecy and Apostolic interpretation.

On the one side we have our Lord's prophetic declaration: "The glory which Thou gavest me I have given them that they may be one." On the other side we have the teaching of the Epistles: "Now ye are the body of Christ and members in particular;" while in the centre we have the vision of Unity itself: "All that believed were together;" "They continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship." On the one side we have our Lord's announcement that the Kingdom of Heaven is coming; on the other side we have the announcement that it is come.

On the one side we have the several figures by which our Lord illustrates the Unity that is coming; on the other we have the Apostolic figures to illustrate the Unity that is come.

Our Lord says "I am the vine, ye are the branches," and the Apostle says "Now ye are the body of Christ and members in particular." Our Saviour says: "There shall be one flock;" and St. Paul asks: "Is Christ divided."

Such is the setting in which our Lord's most solemn words (St. John xvii) appear; and are they not at once momentous and significant? Is it not plain from the very laws of the human mind that where thoughts were so deep and so urgent as to require the language of this chapter to express them, they must necessarily have

declared themselves at other times also. That a thought which had not merely resided as a conception in the intellect, but had also come to settle in the sphere of the heart, there to burn and melt and overflow in all the intensity of ardent prayer, that a thought of such magnitude should have burst forth into expression here, at this particular moment of our Lord's life, but that it should never have declared itself before, and never have sought to express itself afterwards; that the substance of this utterance (St. John xvii) should have thus come to the surface of our Lord's mind for the first time and should then have died down into silence never to rise again—this appears to me a psychological impossibility.

On the contrary is it not certain that thoughts which were so profound and intense at the moment of prayer must have proved themselves equally intense and profound in the moment of instruction? Must they not have penetrated into the sphere of purpose and been urgent in the pressure which they would everywhere exert in the deliberations of the mind?

To establish a society in a world like ours which should unite within itself people of all nations, languages, classes and climates. What a project was this!

Does not the question of proportion come in here?

Must not the conception of this all embracing world-wide Society, have been present to our Lord's mind in the shape of a commanding thought from the very first; from the moment when he proclaimed His purpose—"The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand," to the moment when He was taken up, "Lo, I am with you all the days, even unto the end of the world?" Must not the one absorbing thought have been present to His mind in the years of quiet deliberation which preceded His ministerial life? Must not the proportion in His thoughts and the consequent proportion of thoughts in the minds of His apostles have declared itself in the momentous conversations of the "Forty Days?" Must we not reason here, as elsewhere, from what we do know,

to what we do not know? Is it not inevitable that He who uttered the language of St. John xvii, before His death and resurrection, should have constantly spoken about it, and been constantly questioned upon it in the days that followed; and must not this thought of Unity be nearest to our Lord's heart now as He watches the progress of His Kingdom?

Certainly in our own case a thought which has won for itself a central position in the mind will be found to require severe self-restraint if it is not to be almost continuously bursting forth into speech; and where such restraint is exerted the outburst will be the more powerful when the restraint is withdrawn. This aspect of the question is important, because the thought of Reunion has been rapidly forcing its way to the front in our day, and is now claiming for itself a prominent place in the mind of the Church; and if we can show that the place which it seeks to occupy now is the place which in fact it occupied then; if we can say that the idea of Unity was prominent in the mind of Our Lord then, and that the idea of Reunion is prominent in the Church's mind now, it will appear likely that the one fact is the true counter-part of the other; and it will serve, moreover, to do away with the notion, still prevalent in some quarters, that the enterprise now before us, is the mere craze of a minority instead of being, what in fact it is, the proper concern of the entire Church; or in other words, as I have elsewhere said, we shall have done something towards transferring the whole subject from a sentimental to a scientific basis.

### III.

We may then, I think, take our Lord's forecast of Unity as supplying the proper explanation of the fact of Unity, as we see that fact portrayed for us in Acts ii; the fact that the Disciples were "together" being regarded not as a happy accident or the mere expression

of natural friendliness but as the deliberate fulfilment of our Lord's most solemn words; the very word "steadfastly" seeming to imply, as I have elsewhere indicated, a dread of failure, and a sense of responsibility commensurate with that dread.

And as our Lord's forecast is so far the explanation of this earliest fulfilment of it, does it not also light up the entire New Testament situation; providing us with an atmosphere of interpretation for his other recorded sayings, and serving to explain not merely the conspicuous Unity immediately after the Ascension and after Pentecost, as well as the persistent reiteration of the doctrine of Unity in the Epistles, but also the prominence given to this doctrine in the teaching of the Early Church?

All other passages in the New Testament bearing upon this subject may be regarded as live coals from off the Central Altar of Unity in St. John xvii; the other thoughts in our Lord's mind being understood to be grouped around the thought of Unity as the Disciples were grouped around our Lord Himself.

And may we not further say that all subsequent experience, and more particularly the experience of the last three hundred years, is found to re-act upon our Lord's words and to explain the prominence of that thought to which they gave expression. Knowing as He did what was in man and how much of human power does in fact issue in perversity; knowing what all experience compels us to know, how difficult a work it is to keep any considerable number of people together, our Lord not merely scored the mark of Unity deep into the consciousness of the Church but was careful also to prescribe means for retaining it there.

#### IV.

It is impossible to imagine, even though His words did not expressly preclude the notion, that our Lord

would have proposed and set on foot a scheme so vast and world-wide in its dimensions, so contrary in itself to all previous experience, so certain to arouse suspicions and to come into conflict with national ideas and governments, without also providing an apparatus adequate to such an end.

To have merely started the Apostles on such a course and then to have left them to themselves would have been to contradict the very idea of that providence about which our Lord is so careful to teach us.

And the express words of our Lord Himself are found to fulfil this natural expectation of our minds : "The glory which thou gavest me I have given them ; that they may be one as we are one." The power of God in all its fulness ("All power is given unto Me, . . .") was imparted to the Man Christ Jesus, and as He Himself expressly tells us, extended by Him afterwards to the Apostles themselves ; to that compact body which we recognise in the Apostolic band which stood together on this solid earth and witnessed our Lord's ascension into Heaven.

Our Lord everywhere in the New Testament warns His disciples against the folly of taking up the work of His Kingdom with a light heart. They should sit down first like the man about to build the tower, and count out their money, to see whether they have enough to finish, before they allow themselves to begin ; or like a King who would go to war with another King, they must see whether their forces are adequate to the great enterprise. Do not our Lord's own words here provide us with a canon by which to judge His acts, as well as our own ?

Would He, as the perfect Man, bid us count the cost where so great an enterprise was before us and yet not count that cost Himself ?

And is not all this calculated to create in our minds the expectation of some deep foundation, some elaborate and marvellous contrivance of divine skill destined to

unfold itself as time went on, and to be indicated, in outline at least, in the pages of the New Testament. I am anxious to call attention to this aspect of the question. The face of Holy Scripture does not present a mere dead level, but clear lines of distinction may be discerned if we look for them; lines of separation between teaching that directly treats of morals, and teaching that has to do with doctrine; we may distinguish passages which look to the end, and passages which treat of the means which have to be adopted in order to that end; and here again the cultivation of a sense of proportion will be found to have a direct bearing upon the question before us. The intelligent life of religion does not consist in merely senseless reiteration of the end of religion but in a vigorous understanding of the means which are necessary to attain that end; and if we can once come to recognise the true significance of Unity; what a delicate and sensitive thing it is in every department of our natural life; what extraordinary care and careful organisation is required to preserve it; this will prepare us to appreciate its significance in the supernatural life of the Church; and to recognise how by a necessary sequence of thought the strong yearning for Unity in the heart of our Lord passed into the elaborate plan which was necessary for its attainment; how the prayer—"that they may be one as we are one" resolved itself into "the glory which thou gavest Me I have given to them; that they may be one."

## V.

But it may be said that the Bible itself speaks of "Churches," and that we cannot, therefore, be wrong in doing likewise. And it is true, of course, that the word occurs in the plural, both outside and within the pages of the New Testament. But, whereas the word "Churches" appears to denote the several parts of the world where members of the one Church are to be found, where it



is a question of faith and doctrine we no longer have "Churches" but "my Church;"—"The Church of the living God which is the pillar and ground of the truth;" "upon this rock I will build my Church;" "a holy temple;" "a habitation of God through the spirit;" "the household of faith." (Newman, *Essays, Critical and Historical.*)

It was part of our Lord's intention, then, that His Church on earth should continue to remain one body; that it should continue to be sustained by one Head.

Our Lord's prayer for His disciples that they may be one, speaks to us of one society; and His commission to them to "teach all nations to observe whatsoever things" He had commanded them, speaks to us of one message; and His promise to remain ever with them, speaks to us of one sustaining Head.

And this is how St. Paul views the situation. "One Lord," he writes, "one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all and through all and in you all." The gospel that he preaches is not yea and nay, but altogether yea; and the Corinthians must see to it that there be no divisions among them, and that they be mindful of speaking, one and all, "the same thing," and of being "perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment." The human body supplies him with an illustration; and "as the body has many members and all the members of that one body being many are one body, so also is Christ;" and then turning directly to them: "Now ye are the body of Christ and members in particular." And still more pointedly: "By one spirit are we all baptised into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles whether we be bond or free."

"There is one body and one spirit."

Schism is plainly a sin: "That there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another . . . ." And in case we are tempted to hug our isolation. "The eye," he says, "cannot say to the hand 'I have no need of thee.'"

And as for mere Nationalism no Pope ever attacked it more vigorously than St. Paul : " There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female : for ye are all one man in Christ Jesus." And in one of the most beautiful passages in Holy Scripture the same Apostle who has preserved for us the solemn prayer for Unity that forms the ground-work of this chapter, and whose writings are everywhere saturated with divine love, both name and thing, declares : " We know that we have passed from death unto life because we love the brethren."

## VI.

On the whole, then, if we contemplate the phenomenon of Unity as it is presented to us in the Bible, I do not see how it is possible for an honest mind to withstand the conclusion of Newman—a conclusion expressed by him towards the close of a long life which had been devoted throughout with singleness of mind to a search for the absolute truth. " If the New Testament is to be our guide in matters ecclesiastical," he writes in the year 1870, " one thing at least is certain. We may doubt whether bishops are of obligation, whether there is an Apostolical succession, whether presbyters are priests, whether St. Stephen and his six associates were the first deacons, whether the Sacraments are seven or two; but of one thing we cannot doubt, that all Christians were in that first age bound together in one body, with an actual intercommunion and mutual relations between them, with ranks and offices, and with a central authority; and that this organized association was ' the body of Christ,' and that in it, considered as one, dwelt ' one Spirit.' This external Unity is a duty prior in order and idea to Episcopacy; in it, and not in Episcopacy lies the transmission and warrant of divine privilege."

## SECTION III.—THE CHURCH OF THE FATHERS.

When we pass from the writers in the Bible to the writers outside it we find the same prominence given to this doctrine: one of the first lessons the Catechumen has to learn being the lesson of Unity. It is a lesson included among those things which are "chiefly necessary."

In local Creeds at the outset, and subsequently in the Creeds of the Universal Church emphasis is given to this truth. "The proof of Unity," says Tertullian (A.D. 200) "is the participation of peace, the salutation of brotherhood and the interchange of hospitality."

St. Cyprian (A.D. 250) who gave peculiar attention to the study of the Church's Unity and government, writes: "The Church is likewise one, though she be spread abroad and multiplies with the increase of her progeny; even as the sun has rays many, yet one light; and the tree boughs many, yet its strength is one, seated in the deep lodged root; and as when many streams flow down from one source, though a multiplicity of waters seem diffused from the bountifulness of the overflowing abundance, Unity is preserved in the source itself. Part a ray of the sun from its orb, and its unity forbids the division of light; break a branch from the tree, once broken it can bud no more; cut the stream from its fountain, the remnant will be dried up. Thus the Church flooded with the light of the Lord, puts forth her rays through the whole world, yet with one light, which is spread upon all places, whilst its Unity of body is not infringed. She stretches forth her branches over the universal earth . . . ; yet is there one head, one source, one mother, abundant in the results of her fruitfulness." Again the same author: "For the inculcation of Unity, He disposed of His authority that the beginning of that Unity should have its rise in one. The other apostles were what Peter was—endowed with a like share of honour and of power, but the beginning

was made from one that the Church might be shown to be one . . . .” “It is only one light which is everywhere diffused.” St. Ambrose (A.D. 374): “From every valley a Catholic people is gathered together. Now there are not many congregations, but the congregation is one, the Church is one.” And St. Augustine (A.D. 420): “The Church stands forth glorious and visible to all; for it is a city built on a hill, which cannot be hid, by which Christ reigns from sea to sea, from the river to the ends of the earth, as the seed of Abraham multiplied like the stars of Heaven.” “Hence it is that no man can fail to see the true Church.” “We believe, moreover, the Holy Church, that is, the Catholic. For both heretics and schismatics call their congregations Churches. But heretics by false opinions concerning God, violate the faith itself; and schismatics by their evil divisions break off from brotherly love, though they believe the same things that we believe. Wherefore neither heretics belong to the Catholic Church for that it loves God; nor schismatics for that it loves our neighbour.”

Again, “The Holy Church, the one Church, the true Church, the Catholic Church, warring against all heresies; for war it may, but warred down it never can be.”

We know that in the history of the Church’s formularies, local Creeds came first, and the Creed of the universal Church afterwards.

The local Creeds ran thus :—

In the East :—“We believe . . . . in one, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.

or

We believe in one Catholic and Apostolic Church.”

In the West :—“I believe . . . . the Holy Catholic Church.”

or

“I believe . . . . the Holy Church.”

These instances will serve to indicate the line upon which local Creeds were made to run; until in A.D. 381 they were resolved into the Creed of the Universal Church, which has been recited in the Congregation ever since; a period of fifteen hundred years. And now we have it before our eyes:—"I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." "I believe in one Catholic and Apostolic Church."

So we now say as we stand side by side, testifying to our belief in a divine Society, marked off from all others by the notes which are understood to have distinguished it from the beginning; of which notes Unity claims the first place.

#### SECTION IV.—THE CHURCH OF THE PRAYER BOOK.

If we turn to the language of our own Prayer Book the same doctrine appears in many forms.

We sing of "the Holy Church throughout all the world;" and in the Collects, again and again, prayers are offered up to Almighty God that He will "keep His household the Church;" or that He will "hear the devout prayers of His Church;" or, more expressly still, we speak of His having "knit together his elect in one Communion and fellowship in the mystical body of his Son:" and of "the whole body of the Church being governed and sanctified" by His Spirit.

Such language plainly refers not to a local church but to the entire society, members of which are to be found not merely in one country but in all, and, where more comprehensive terms are employed, not merely on earth but also beyond the grave.

This language has been repeated without being realised; so much so that when it is pressed home and men

are told that it is not the Church of England of which they are made members in baptism, but the Catholic Church, they look dazed and bewildered, as if it were too good or too bad to be true.

And for the same reason they are wont to be shy or suspicious of the very word Reunion, as if it represented some wild or Utopian idea having to do with a "Foreign Church" as they term it.

## II.

Thus, it is the idea of a Visible Church, that is, a holy Church throughout all the world that we have to steadily contemplate; forgetting those other more limited ideas of a merely local Church that are behind, and reaching forth unto that larger and nobler conception of a Universal or Catholic Church that is before; it is within the sphere of this idea that we have to exercise ourselves; and in one sense this is the only point that divides us, but it is a point which pierces and penetrates so deep as to develop first a line of separation and then a yawning chasm which appears to preclude even the hope of any passage.

If it be true, then, to say that the language of the Prayer Book witnesses everywhere to the doctrine of Unity; and if such language is but the echo in the present day of what the Fathers were ever proclaiming in primitive times; the language of primitive times, again, presenting us with the counterpart of the language of Scripture, is it not plain that whether we describe ourselves as "Bible Christians," or as "Anglicans," or as "Roman Catholics," we are confronted everywhere by the same majestic doctrine, looking out upon us, as it does, and following us like the eyes of a picture, in spite of all our attempts to elude it.

It is the same wherever we take our stand; whether on the platform of the Bible, or of the Fathers, or of the Book of Common Prayer; the same steadfast gaze

everywhere meets us, and the voice of reproach is heard sounding in our ears :

“It is your crime that you are brethren and that you live as aliens.”

## SECTION V.—TYPES OF UNITY.

Now when we turn from this picture of Unity to the vision of Christendom as it actually is, it is impossible to acquiesce in what we see ; and we find ourselves constrained either to reduce the difficulty by attempting to explain it away, or to throw ourselves with energy and determination into the enterprise of Reunion in order to resolve it.

### I.

The question is, are we to wind up our dogma at the risk of alienating men, or are we to relax it in order to attract them ?

The Undenominational type of Unity follows the latter course, and the Catholic type of Unity the former.

The basis of Undenominational Unity is a common sentiment ; and of Catholic Unity a common faith. And the latter would seem to be in accordance alike with the teaching of the New Testament and the experience of history.

Not daring to hope for any ultimate agreement on the basis of doctrine, and yet deeply anxious to fulfil at least the spirit of our Lord's high priestly prayer the Undenominationalist School call for a union of hearts and of sentiments, and deprecate the too frequent reference to dogmatics ; while the Catholic School, on the other hand, are wont to affirm that truth should come first and Unity afterwards, and that where this order is

reversed we betray, however unconsciously to ourselves, a spirit of indifference or unbelief.

I have spoken of three principal types which are before us in Western Christendom, and I will now set these down in the language of those who are respectively entitled to expound them.

1. The Roman Type. In 1891 Father Ignatius Dudley Ryder wrote me some words upon this subject which he kindly allows me to transcribe :—

“The prayer of Christ to which you refer was not for something that once was, and then was lost to the Church, but it secured that which ever was and ever will be her possession.”

And Lacordaire, the famous Dominican, expounds the doctrine thus :

“Unity is that, which is not self-contradictory in any respect whatever. It is of three kinds—Unity of substance—Unity of intellect—Unity of will. Unity of substance is found in a being that includes no contradiction or distinction. For which reason God alone is truly one as to His essence, because He alone has nothing in His Being that is limited or contradictory of being. Unity of intellect is when the mind includes no thought that denies another, that is, no contradiction. Unity of will is where the soul includes no acts of love of which one is opposed to another. In short, Unity is only to be found where no contradiction exists : for contradiction is the death of Unity. Whereas, on the contrary, Union—which is but the surface of Unity, may have momentary existence in spite of contradictions : just as we may touch each other without blending into one. But as when water when it is near boiling will not be tranquil long, so is Union unsustained by Unity but a transient and delusive appearance. Never are two men so near a quarrel as when embracing each other without love. And this is the primary reason why the Catholic Church proceeds by the way of exclusion whilst all heresies and schisms proceed by the way of reunion.



The Church excludes all, without exception, who contradict her, and yet she is universal: whilst heresy draws to itself even those who contradict it, and yet this does not save heresy from being limited to particular localities."

"Union is the deceitful shadow of Unity. . . . Consider the Protestants. Who have spoken more about union than they? Who have toiled for it more? And yet they are all divided."

2. The Anglican Type. "It is our theory, that each diocese is an integral Church, intercommunion being a duty (and the breach of it a sin) but not essential to Catholicity."

"The Unity of the Church lay, not in its being a polity, but in its being a family, a race, coming down by Apostolical descent from its first founders and bishops."—*Apologia* pp. 106, 107.

And as regards Rome:—"We convicted her of the intolerable offence of having added to the Faith. This was the critical head of accusation urged against her by the Anglican disputant."

Writing again in 1882, that is, some forty years later, Newman thus described the Anglican type in the course of his allusion to William Palmer;—"He was one of those earnest-minded and devout men, forty years since, who, deeply convinced of the great truth that our Lord had instituted, and still acknowledges and protects, a visible Church—one, individual, and integral—Catholic, as spread over the earth, Apostolic as coeval with the Apostles of Christ, and Holy, as being the dispenser of His Word and Sacraments—considered it at present to exist in three main branches, or rather in a triple presence, the Latin, the Greek, and the Anglican, these three being one and the same Church distinguishable from each other only by secondary, fortuitous, and local, though important characteristics. And, whereas the whole Church in its fulness was, as they believed, at once and severally Anglican, Greek, and Latin, so in

turn each one of those three was the whole Church; whence it followed that whenever any one of the three was present, the other two by the nature of the case, were absent, and therefore the three could not have direct relations with each other, as if they were three substantive bodies, there being no real difference between them except the external accident of place. Moreover, since as has been said on a given territory there could not be more than one of the three, it followed that Christians generally, wherever they were, were bound to recognise, and had a claim to be recognised by, that one, ceasing to belong to the Anglican Church, as Anglican, when they were at Rome, and ignoring Rome as Rome, when they found themselves at Moscow. Lastly, not to acknowledge this inevitable outcome of the initial idea of the Church, viz., that it was both everywhere and one, was bad logic, and to act in opposition to it was nothing short of setting up altar against altar, that is, the hideous sin of schism, and a sacrilege."

"This," he goes on to say, "I conceive to be the formal teaching of Anglicanism; this is what we held and professed in Oxford forty years ago; this is what Mr. Palmer intensely believed and energetically acted upon when he went to Russia."

8. The Undenominational Type: The aim of the Evangelical Alliance is—to use their own language—"to promote the union" of all true disciples of Christ, "to discourage strifes and divisions, and to impress upon Christians a deeper sense of the great duty of obeying their Lord's command to love one another and to seek the full accomplishment of His prayer—'that they all may be one . . . that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me.'"

"In subserviency to the same great object, the Alliance endeavours to exert a beneficial influence on the advancement of Evangelical Religion, and on the counteraction "of Infidelity, of Romanism, and of the desecration of the Lord's Day."

## II.

Now of these three principal types I think it will be acknowledged that the Roman type comes nearest to that ideal of Unity presented by Our Lord which I have made some attempt to pourtray in this chapter.

I am speaking here of the Roman Communion so far as she presents us with a vision of Unity, without asking how far what she teaches is true; and I think it will be allowed that the Unity which is actually presented to us in the spectacle of some 200,000,000—to keep the number as low as we may—the spectacle of 200,000,000 of our Lord's people all of them looking to one and the same visible as well as to one and the same invisible head, and, as regards the substance alike of their practice and of their theory, all saying the same thing—I think this deserves to be characterised as a wondrous phenomenon; and since according to our own theory we are fellow members with them in the mystical body of our Lord, I think it is a duty so far to acknowledge this fact, and that the acknowledgment of it must conduce ultimately to that state of Reunion for which all of us should long and pray.

I have made some allusion elsewhere to the contentions, the rivalries, the jealousies and even the spirit of rebellion which manifest themselves more or less in her midst at all times; but so far as these are real,—and it is certain that they are real—they only serve to enhance the wonder of another reality which they are not sufficiently powerful to destroy;—the reality I mean of those mutual relations and intercommunion, and co-operation of the whole Society where it is a question of formal and final action, which I am assuming to constitute Unity in its living sense.

Two instances will serve to illustrate what I am saying. The dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and of the Infallibility of the Pope were both of them defined, as we know, in the last century.

Now up to the point of time when they were defined they would have been described as matters of opinion, and sometimes even, it may be, of furious debate. They were held by some and denied by others within the Roman Communion, ourselves being among those numbers for a portion of that time; until at length the former was defined in the year 1854, and the latter in 1870.

In regard to both these dogmas, then, prior to these dates, it is true, of course, that some cried one thing and some another; but it is true also that since these dates both dogmas alike have been universally held. Let this state of Unity be viewed thus as it is found in operation.

Will any Roman Catholic priest on this earth stand up in his pulpit to-day and declare: "The so-called dogma of the Immaculate Conception is not true; you have no call to believe it; and so is it also, dear brethren, in regard to Papal Infallibility—you will hear this dogma confidently preached about, of course, in many pulpits, but where will you find it in your Bibles? You know, as well as I, that not a few of the bishops at the Vatican Council opposed this definition. Very well, put away this strange fancy from among you."

Now let us assume this to represent an actual situation; and is it not certain that the Congregation would rise at once in their seats; however that may be it is infallibly certain that the preacher would in due course be put to silence. Observe, I am not attempting to say whether these dogmas are true; that is not the question before us. The point is that no Roman Catholic, whether priest or layman, will henceforth be suffered to deny them.

The Bishops who opposed the dogma of infallibility while it was under discussion submitted to it after it had been defined; Döllinger, one of the greatest theologians of the century, refused to submit and was formally cut off.

You may quarrel with this; you may bitterly resent what perhaps you describe as the imperious and drastic methods of Rome; but deep down in your mind where your judgment ultimately settles itself you will be constrained to recognise in all this the presence of real government, and one principal secret of Rome's unity and strength.

To all alike she seems to say, "I hold in my keeping the deposit of truth; and I claim to be able to declare from time to time more precisely, if need be, what belongs to that deposit and what does not belong to it; meantime come not to me unless you are prepared to submit to this; or, if you have submitted, and now rebel, go you must whosoever you may be." And are we to say that men should be allowed to continue as members of a society and teach what they will? We might as well say that a considerable number of tubercle bacilli can safely be suffered to take up their position and establish themselves in the human organism without any fear of serious disorder first, of consumption in the patient later on, and finally of dissolution at last.

"I was always of the opinion," says Professor Virchow "that one, or a few, bacilli even of consumption, do not matter anything, and that only a large number of them is dangerous." And in the case we are considering the presence of foreign or antagonistic bodies within the Unity of the Church may be even for a long period deliberately winked at, so far as they appear insignificant in themselves, and few in numbers; but where they are powerful and manifestly on the increase, and are seen to exert an influence and to be in a position that gives them wide scope, either the Society must break to pieces or they must go. To be feeding our several congregations, Sunday by Sunday, on contradictory doctrines, and then to expect to preserve or restore Unity is to look for a miracle; it is to run clean contrary to all the laws of nature, and to attempt to achieve an exception to an otherwise universal rule. However, I have said more

words about this in another place; and I will only here say, that however the instrument of excommunication is eventually to be applied, there can be no peace or Unity in our midst, I certainly believe, until its use is restored.

### III.

The alternative to this appears in the danger which confronts us in England at the present time; the danger, I mean, of the spirit of comprehension, which is only one of the more handsome names recently invented to characterise or conceal that liberalism in the things of religion which it was the principal aim of the Oxford Movement to counteract. I am not saying that this instrument can be at once restored in our midst; nor am I insinuating that our rulers are necessarily to blame for not attempting to restore it, here and now; I am not preaching a sermon to a general congregation, or giving an instruction to a confirmation class, or writing a letter to the newspaper; but keeping severely to the line of discussion which must precede the formation of a public opinion, which again in its turn prepares the way for legislation.

I merely say that if all visible societies in the world are held together by means of this discipline, what right have we to imagine that so vast a visible society as the Church can claim to be an exception?

As regards what has been represented as the Anglican type of Unity, I am constrained to acknowledge the force of the contention that if Unity may truly be said "to lie in the Apostolical Succession, an act of Schism is from the nature of the case impossible; for, as no one can reverse his parentage, so no Church can undo the fact that its clergy have come by lineal descent from the Apostles." But I should not myself say that Unity lies in this fact? I prefer to say that the Roman type of Unity manifestly comes nearest to the ideal set forth

by our Lord; and I agree with Mr. Everest in thinking that our separation from the Holy See is provisional merely.

#### IV.

As regards the Undenominationalist type of Unity, I am not, of course, saying that its aim is to set Unity before Truth, but I cannot avoid the conclusion that its tendency lies in this direction, and that it so far is found ultimately to promote indifference and unbelief.

Men enter the portals of Undenominationalism with the tacit understanding in their minds that any definite truths they may hold must be hidden away or kept in the background, otherwise the entire situation will be disturbed or destroyed; thus it is the situation of being together which occupies the first place, and the dignity and value of truth which has to be content with the second. The meeting then takes place, and the problem is how to state truth in such a form as to offend no one out of the twenty or thirty distinct sects that are represented in the audience. Now this is bad training for the purposes of truth; for however inadequate language may be as the expression of thought it is the main vehicle for its expression, and the temptation to explain away terms or to whittle them down leads us only too swiftly into the habit of calling black white and white black, the ultimate end whereof is the merest sentimentalism—a poor substitute surely, for that Gospel of which Our Saviour said “He that believeth shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned.”

The proper outcome of faith is devotion, and devotion is single; the object of devotion being Almighty God Himself, who is particular as well as universal.

Let us suppose, then, that a man attends his Parish Church and explains his attendance thus:

“Our Lord’s command is plain—Do this; I go therefore where there is a minister who has been duly or-

dained to 'do' it; and I join with him in the offering of the Sacrifice." Here the line is clear for devotion; mind and heart are brought to a focus in a point, that is, in a person; a visible person, who represents the invisible Person; a person not merely as a person, but as holding the ministerial office.

But if having said this, he turns his attention towards another place of worship where there is not an ordained minister in that sense, but where his sense of an ordained minister is distinctly repudiated; and if he protests "I go there sometimes, too, for a man should go where he gets most good, or God manifests Himself equally and identically in that place also"—here is a contradiction; and the second proposition is incompatible with the first. For God is one, and He cannot therefore be the author of confusion. He cannot in the first place ordain a minister for a specific purpose and then go on to say that it matters not whether we avail ourselves of it or not.

The question as to whether He will give some form and measure of grace outside His own normal channels where His children have not yet come to realise those channels is a distinct question and does not belong to the immediate point before us. It is the formal and normal line that we are contemplating, not the line of exception. And I protest that by dividing his attention he betrays a want of reality and a lack of faith. For to sincerely believe in one of these propositions is to be unable sincerely to believe in the other; and to pretend to believe in both at the same time is not to know the meaning of his own words in either.

Again, the attitude of glancing in this way from one institution to another and vaguely patronising both is in reality to sit lightly to each; the man's attention being divided between the two, and religious practice coming thus to present itself in the form of choice and not of duty; this soon leads on, then, to the further stage that the principle which justified his leaving the



first place of worship also justifies him in leaving the second; and as regards places of worship it cannot of course be any particular place that matters; if then he assembles a number of his friends in the street and addresses them—this, too, is worship; and then at length the vagueness of the religious atmosphere begins to tell upon him until he finds himself resenting almost as an insult and always as an impertinence every definite statement of truth whatsoever.

Now, view him in another situation. An Education Bill comes up for discussion before the House, and is debated with great heat from many contradictory stand-points. This sets him thinking again; and since no one definite position has been allowed to capture him to the exclusion of any other, he begins to protest that these religious questions are after all simply obstructions, and that religion itself is therefore the enemy of progress.

Here, then, at last we find him; the man who at the outset was religious but not bigoted now appears before us as one who is bigoted without being religious.

Let the case be fairly considered. Religion is a fact of human nature; the entire length and breadth of history has said so. Very well; then like other facts it must be reckoned with for it will always be with us. Those who think they can stamp it out are living in a dream. This being so why should not such a fact be properly dealt with like other facts; and since it is a living organism why should it not be allowed to have self-consciousness, and along with this a definite existence in the world. Why should it not be allowed to have a definite policy, and say, "This is official," and "That is not official," you either take it or you leave it; you cannot do both at once?

To return for a moment to the Houses of Parliament. Let us suppose that the same person whose line of thought we have been tracing absents himself from the House for one day in order to pay a visit to his son in

the University of Oxford. We hear him muttering his complaints as he journeys down the line. "It is religion that is the great enemy of all progress; once get that out of the way and the path will be clear." Eventually he arrives at his destination and is shown round the great city of spires. He enters one college and enquires for the name. "Corpus"—is the reply; and he reflects—"Corpus"—the body—of whom? Corpus Christi—the Body of Christ. Here, then, is the name of Christ in a real and full sense applied to a place of learning. He moves on to another College; and the name of this? "This is Jesus College." Let me think, he murmurs to himself, "Jesus"—here, and the "Body of Christ"—in the last College. However the hours are running on, so after protesting that he will not have time on this occasion to visit Magdalen—Magdalen! he reflects again—he eventually returns to Christchurch. Before leaving Oxford his son expresses some regret that he has not had opportunity of showing him the beautiful reredos at "All Souls." "But, then," he goes on, "you must come up again, you do not nearly know the University yet." A subsequent visit on the part of the same person to his cousin at Cambridge tends rather to deepen this impression; for after walking through the grounds of "Trinity," he finds himself confronted by "St. John's;" and after proceeding some distance his cousin points out first one and then another college of the University—"That is 'Jesus College;' This is Corpus;" and again "That College you see on the right is Emmanuel." So the first impression is deepened; until at length he asks himself—"After all, can religion as such be rightly called the enemy of progress, if by her own spontaneous act she launched these great places of learning upon the world and stereotyped her own characteristic sign and seal upon them?" Then he looks further into these matters and crosses the path of Roger Bacon or again of St. Thomas Aquinas; and it sets him thinking again—"It is not religion," he protests,

"but the abuse of religion ; it is not what I have thoughtlessly described as a narrow orthodoxy but a false and profoundly unphilosophical latitudinarianism that has done the mischief." "The enemy of learning indeed !" he muses, "why, not a few among these Schoolmen had as much learning in their individual heads as ever will be found in twenty of such modern men as myself rolled into one ; these teachers were orthodox because they were profound, and their 'narrowness' was the proper outcome of their depth." So he reflects ; and perhaps returns to his mother the Church with some such reflection in his mind, as in that of Lacordaire ; "I have learnt from my own experience that the Church is the deliverer of the human intellect ; and as from freedom of intellect all other freedoms necessarily flow, I perceive the questions which are now agitating the world in their true light." Perhaps he further goes on to protest, also with Lacordaire, "Remember that in saying all this, I do not cease to be a liberal. Not so ; I am now a repentant Catholic but an unrepentant liberal."

## V.

The principle of exclusion, then, is after all the far-seeing principle and the one that is best fitted for this actual world ; and if we view it in its original home, I mean in the Holy See, it cannot be described as constituting the greatest of all impediments to Reunion, when from the very first it has succeeded in holding together in the one embrace of a conscious communion the largest majority by a very long way, of the baptised followers of the Lord.

That is how the question presents itself when we view it in the region of fact. Certain types of Unity are before us, and experience teaches that the most potent of these is the type that is known as Roman. In saying this, my aim is to show that the policy of liberalism in Religion, and I understand Undenominationalism to be

this very thing, does not in fact and in the end minister to Unity, and proves itself at last the most obstinate of all enemies to progress. It speaks fair. but does not work out so; if peace is ever on its lips it not seldom has war in its heart.

## VI.

Our Lord's words, then, in the passage I have chosen (St. John xvii) refer plainly to a band of men who after some two or three years of progressive education had come to realise themselves as one body. Our Saviour spoke of them and they also spoke of themselves as a society distinct from the world, and He now prays that as they are, so they may remain: "While I was in the world I kept them, . . . now I come to thee; Holy Father keep through thine own name those whom thou has given me that they may be one." Thus Unity is set before the first disciples not as something to acquire but as something to be retained; it is there to begin with, and our Lord's prayer is that it may remain there; and in order that his prayer may be fulfilled He extends to the little band the "glory" which in the first instance had been extended to Himself. This proportion appears throughout:—"As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you;" "The glory thou gavest me I have given to them, that they may be one." "He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me." I think, then, the most straightforward interpretation of our Lord's teaching is that which realises the significance of this word "keep," and so while recognising the possibility of disputes, rivalries, jealousies, envyings and other sins within the body, extends no formal sanction to a breach in the body itself. Just as if some benefactor were to found a Society and afterwards to leave a bequest to it; he would do so on the plain understanding that it should remain one Society and not break up in two; and in

the event of such a breach it would have to be decided which of the two associations could rightly claim to represent the original. This is a critical point in the question of Unity; and it is for this reason and because while desiring to do my duty to that portion of the Church to which I owe my teaching I recognise at the same time my duties towards that Church Universal which is the Church of my baptism that I advocate the cause of Reunion in the first instance, and of Reunion with the Holy See in the second.

It is natural in all of us to frame a theory which fits our own case

A man of noble birth will have his own predilections for the privileges of ancestry; and, whatever he may say to this person or that, will, as a rule, be the one to uphold the principle in argument; and a man who is without this privilege will naturally be led to depreciate it, whether he resists the impulse of nature or not. And so in this matter of the Unity of the Church, one man wakes up in Nonconformity and assures himself that Unity as applied to the Church signifies unity of sentiment and a union of hearts; he does not "see" the doctrine of Absolution in Scripture, and there is little said as to Bishops; another man wakes up in Anglicanism and clings to St. Ignatius and to the principle of the Episcopate, and so reads the Fathers and Scripture as not to discern either "St. Peter" or the Holy See. And so with our Roman friends being what they are and having been so from the first it is not easy for them to see things from an Anglican or Nonconformist point of view. But one principal value of a Reunion Movement is that it enables men, of whatever Communion, to view the question as if from the outside and not merely from within, and to ask for the truth and not merely the truth of their own case. The mere fact of a situation such as the Round Table Conference with the deliberate sanction upon it of the Bishop in whose diocese and perhaps in whose palace also it is

held, amounts to nothing less than a recognition that things are not as they should be, and that contradictory beliefs, even on fundamental questions, have assumed such serious proportions as to become a danger to Christianity itself; and this provides, in itself, a sufficient answer to those who adopt an indefinite attitude for the purpose of including rationalists or ignoring the boundary lines between Church and Dissent, and then suddenly, as if by some concerted action, and after gathering their manifold garments closely around them, seek to shut the door and also to bolt it in the face of the Holy See.

While as to consequences, these, as Dean Church used to remind us, are nothing to the logic of an argument, although they should lead us to realise the seriousness of the questions we are handling. And while this latter consideration has full weight with myself I say deliberately that few consequences, if any, could be more disastrous than the consequences we already see of the actual disorders that are around us. I fully admit the duty of patience; but to acquiesce in what we now have to recognise would be little short of a crime.

It is only what is true that leads to truth, and we shall never do justice to the enterprise of Reunion unless we frankly recognise the coexistence within one and the same Communion of contradictions which threaten to produce if they have not already produced two or three distinct religions where there should be only one.

We are not set in the Church to keep people back from Rome or to send them to it; and revelation was not given into our hands to do with it what we will and to run off, as it were, with our portion and play with it as mere partisans. It was given to the world once for all and in order that men might believe it, and no Church, sacrament, priest or any other thing that can be named must stand in the way to divert it from its course, or to hide it from mankind.

At present men cannot see the Church because it is

not one; and we must never rest until they can see it because it has become one.

Meantime we shall now have to ask upon what line of action our Lord determined in order to secure the fulfilment of His purpose.

## CHAPTER III.

### ST. PETER.

We have said that what held so prominent a place in Our Lord's Prayer must have also occupied a principal place in the elaboration of His plan.

In all great human situations it is so : the will comes first and then the way ; the one following upon the other in a natural and necessary sequence ; the pains-taking and laborious process that is at work in the mind being the correlative of the consuming desire that is burning in the heart.

To this every great invention in physical science, and every great movement in Church or State may be traced.

It is by means of this undying fire that is ever ascending from the centre and soul of the man's innermost self, that the whole machinery of thought is set in motion in the first instance and kept in motion afterwards ; and mind and body alike would faint under the burden that was laid upon them but for this antecedent and accompanying action of the heart.

## SECTION I.—PRINCIPLES OF INTERPRETATION.

### I.

Now our Lord, we know, is God, but He does not therefore cease to be Man ; and the action of His human nature would so far follow the course of human



nature, though without the interruptions of sin. The outpourings of His heart, and the deep strong yearnings of His soul would be transformed within His mind into that strenuous energy of thought and that elaborate and perfect contrivance of means that were necessary to His great purpose; and as we may recognise the character of that purpose in the words with which He announces it at the beginning so may we realise the intensity of His purpose in the solemn prayer that He said at the end. "I have a baptism to be baptised with, and how am I straitened until it be accomplished."

First, it is—"The kingdom of heaven is at hand"—'This is what I have come for; I shall say many words and I shall do many works, but after all it is but one work that I am doing and one word that I am saying—The kingdom of heaven.'

And next, 'I pray for the subjects of this kingdom, that they may be one, since a kingdom that is divided against itself cannot stand. I have kept them while I was in the world, and now do Thou keep them, that they may be one as we are one.'

This, then, is what I am keeping before me, to make the prayer in St. John xvii the starting point of all our studies upon the subject of Unity; to let it exert its due pressure so as to secure for the doctrine the first place in our thoughts, and so prepare us to expect and to appreciate the elaborate plan that must in due course unfold itself from the divine mind. Thus, not merely the energy to go forward with the work but the power of mind to continue, and to plan it may be traced to this central fire. It is an exhibition of what St. Paul sets before us when he prays that our "love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and in all judgment."

## II.

Now, if a prayer of such solemn intensity is calculated to quicken our sense of the magnitude of Christ's work

and to prepare us for that elaboration of plan which is necessary to its accomplishment, shall we not be right in taking our Lord's announcement into our hands at the outset and using it as a clue through the intricate windings of His purpose to the end? Each separate saying and each situation in the gospel must be referred to the announcement that appears at its head.

What has this saying, what has this action to do with "The Kingdom?"—will be the ever recurring question throughout. The act of deliberation that should precede every great undertaking is what our Saviour so earnestly commends to His own disciples; and since He appeals to this as to a principle of universal application we cannot be wrong in reverently applying it to Himself. The two illustrations by which He seeks to enforce the lesson, and to which some allusion has already been made, are those of the king about to make war with another king, and the man intending to build a tower; and our Lord is exercising the common sense of His disciples when He asks: 'Would any one of you, intending to build a tower, begin the building without sitting down first to count the cost?' Or, to state this in another way, 'Would any king be so unwise as to declare war against another king without first asking himself whether he had sufficient forces for the enterprise?'

Such is the direct appeal our Lord makes to the judgment of His Disciples, and—may we not reverently say it—much more unlikely is it that the Son of Man who is the King of Kings would begin to build His Church without sitting down first to deliberate upon the materials He had at His command; much more unlikely is it that the King of Kings would go to war with another king, the prince of this world, without sitting down first to contemplate that Divine plan upon which His operations were to be carried out.

## III.

In these illustrations the posture of sitting is intended to denote the attitude of deliberation; and it is this moment in the life of our Lord and this attitude of His mind and of Himself towards His great project that is so often lightly passed over or altogether ignored; the result being that we interpret His words and His acts from our own standpoint instead of from His. In this as in other aspects it is necessary to repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand; to surrender our minds as well as hearts to the Divine will and purpose and not to read our own prejudices into the sacred text. I am anxious to press this point; for what is the explanation of that lightness with which we fall first into heresy and then, perhaps, into schism if it be not the inadequate sense we have of the magnitude of the Divine work with which we are presuming to meddle, the elaborate and exquisite design that we are rudely tampering with or carelessly throwing into disorder.

We know the Almighty too well to suspect Him of such trifling as "Apostolic Succession," or "Forms and Ceremonies," or "Sacraments that are necessary to salvation," or the suggestion that things should be done in one way rather than in another; other places are reached by taking the right road to them; Heaven can be reached by any road. Beings are more highly organised in proportion as their place is high in the order of Creation; but this special work of God's that we call the Church is what will always go forward in spite of us and never by means of us; and anything like complexity, or delicate and elaborate contrivance which we instinctively look for in every other great work is regarded as an intrusion in this.

But is not the conception of God's kingdom upon earth the greatest of all conceptions; and if it is to take its place within the setting of the natural order

must it not coincide with that order, even though it be destined in one sense to transcend it?

The confusions that we see about us will never be set right, and Reunion can never come to pass until we recover the idea of a visible Church in all its majesty, divine on one side, human on the other; issuing forth from the awful mind of God and unfolding itself gradually under the hand of our Divine Saviour to the mind and heart of man.

#### IV.

We know how fearful and wonderful is the make of our own bodies, and as life goes on we come to see how necessary it is to understand them and to obey the laws and principles which govern the delicate and elaborate operations of their working; but when we turn to the mystical body of Christ our sense of fitness seems to fail us, and the idea of a plan disappears from our thoughts or is resolutely shut out as though it were derogatory to the divine mind. The anatomy of this body is what everyone understands, and the physiology also, without going to any school first to learn it; and so it comes to be forgotten that Revelation does in fact run along a double line—the human and the divine—that although it comes to us from God it is conveyed to us through man, that the two natures meet in the Person of Christ, and that the offices and functions of His mystical body must be studied, therefore, on their human as well as on their divine side.

#### V.

If we are to regard the Oxford Movement, then, as having for its aim the recovery of Catholic positions, one phase of that movement, I think must necessarily be the recovery of Catholic interpretations, and one step towards this is to contemplate the mind of Christ

so far as He has been pleased to disclose it to us, and to look out upon the operations of that mind through His eyes and not through our own; to see what He says and does in the light of His purpose, and as part of His divine plan. And it will become evident to us, I think, from the reiteration of the one thought of Unity and the earnestness with which His prayer was uttered, that as the kingdom of heaven was the purpose of our Lord's ministerial life, so the Unity of the visible Kingdom was the thought that lay nearest to His heart. And the question is whether this dominant thought of Unity took a more particular shape in our Lord's mind and in the working out of His purpose, and if so, what that particular shape was; and in attempting to find an answer we shall come to see, I think, that as the prominent idea in our Lord's mind is the idea of Unity so the prominent person in His mind is the person of St. Peter.

## VI.

The imperative thought—this must be done—is succeeded always by the deliberative thought—how shall I do it? And the question now before us is whether our Lord's words and works in the New Testament, judged in the light of subsequent interpretations on the one hand and subsequent confusions on the other, discover to us the line of action upon which He determined.

## SECTION II.—THE VISIBLE HEAD.

### I.

As, then, our Lord has proclaimed His purpose, we take up our position with the idea of a kingdom in our minds, and look and listen as He goes on to unfold it.

He begins by selecting and separating certain individuals from the crowd. One by one He calls them, and one by one they come; until it becomes evident that an inner circle is being educated into a society; and the distinction between this inner circle and the general multitude outside is preserved throughout. Turning to His own disciples He says: "Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom, but unto others in parables." So He draws them to Himself, nourishes them with His teaching, and passes them through a process of education, bringing the various members together and fitting them for their several functions, until at length and in due time, when the Day of Pentecost is fully come, there is a special outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the little body, and they are discharged into the world as a divine society. They lived as all offspring lives before the day of their birth, but it was not until that day that they came before the world as a body. We shall have to ask presently whether one member in this body was brought out into prominence from the first and tried and strengthened for a special work that he was to perform afterwards; meantime, from beginning to end of our Lord's ministerial life He supplied, in His own person, the visible centre of the visible group. If the disciples left all it was to follow Him; if they were taught and trained it was our Lord Himself who trained and taught them; and if He sent them forth to preach, they were subsequently to be seen gravitating back to Him to render an account of their mission. Now if we join ourselves to this little group, and enter into their state of mind, we shall come to see that such daily continuous acts of companionship must have ripened into habit, and accustomed the society so far to look up to our Lord, and to recognise in Him their visible head; and this initial state must have belonged to His plan or He would not have pursued it.

It might have been the will of God to regenerate mankind without the visible interposition of man, but

from the very outset He has never done so ; and in the supreme moment of the incarnation He interposed an outward and visible sign of His inward and spiritual grace in the Manifestation of the Man Christ Jesus ; and the first glimpse we are allowed to have of the disciples discovers also a Visible Head in their midst.

## II.

But if there was a Visible Head at the outset was there also to be a visible head to the end ? If so, we should expect to see indications of this purpose in the general constitution of human society and in the words and actions which unfold to us this particular divine plan.

Now in all human societies the fact of prominence is the necessary accompaniment of the fact of unity. A number of men, without a common purpose constitute a crowd ; on the other hand a number of men with a common purpose constitute a society ; and a society implies and requires government. Plunge a society into the element of this world without a leader to-day, and it will come to the surface with a leader to-morrow.

Either special provision must be made for a head at the outset, or it will spontaneously produce one afterwards, or else it will evaporate in the event. All experience points this way ; government is everywhere necessary if societies are not to degenerate into crowds ; and government means the prominence of a few or of one. The very inequality of mankind at once creates, and provides for the necessity of government.

First comes the assembly, and next the question as to who shall preside ; first comes the meeting and then the question as to who shall occupy the chair. History witnesses again and again to the attempts that have been made to dispense with a head and always with the same result.

The means by which the head is secured may vary

and the name by which he is described is not, of course, everywhere the same, but the fact of headship may be described as an enduring as well as a universal fact; and where any particular society is found to be breaking up we are generally heard to protest that there was no one to hold the members together.

Last year (July, 1900) when the troops of various countries were despatched to China in consequence of the serious massacres there, the question of a Commander-in-Chief came up at once; and meantime a correspondent from Tientsin wrote: "There is no disagreement between the Commanders, but in the absence of a recognised head several are disposed to follow their own methods and simply abstain from operations contrary to those methods." A Commander-in-Chief was in due course sent out and unity of action followed.

### III.

If, then, societies of men, all the world over, are kept together by their respective heads,—name them how you will;—Emperors, Kings, Czars, Presidents, Prime Ministers, Commanders-in-Chief, Admirals, Speakers, Grand Masters; and if in all such cases the death of one presiding officer is followed at once and as a matter of course by the appointment of another to succeed him; and if this fact is so universally recognised that any one who should presume in the present day to call it in question would be at once laughed to scorn and put to silence; is it not inevitable to conclude that He who knew what was in man would recognise this characteristic; is it not certain that He who as the great Prophet of the world must have foreseen that conspicuous and continuous exhibition of it that we witness in the constitution of the Roman Church to-day would also have proceeded either to make special provision for its security, or to counteract the universal tendency to which I have alluded by expressly withdrawing the



visible Church from the plane of its influence? This will serve to shew what I mean by the attitude of deliberation on our Lord's part and the special attention that ought to be paid to it on ours.

It is impossible for us to look out upon the world to-day, or to look back upon the world of yesterday, or forward upon the world of to-morrow, and not to discern a head wherever we descry a society. This is so universal a fact that we may describe it as a law of God's providence; and if the visible Church was destined and therefore designed to take up and to maintain its place in surroundings which are everywhere governed by this law, is it not just that the argument for St. Peter's headship in the Apostolic College should so far have the benefit of this law, and that in the shape of a presumption that what is recognised in every other situation should be provided for also in this? And this will serve also to show the bearing of a crisis upon the interpretation of the sacred text. The Oxford Movement, as I have elsewhere observed, has carried us forward from one stage to another until at length we are face to face with the entire Catholic idea. This is, I believe, the true account of our present case; the confusion around us is real precisely because the view that we have caught of the Universal Church is vivid. And will anyone say that we shall find ourselves handling the Petrine texts at this later stage precisely as we handled them at the first? No; in the light of the present moment we shall be led to do our utmost with them in the direction of Reunion, and not away from it. It is everywhere recognised that the present order, or disorder, is a state of things which cannot endure; and this throws us back again upon first principles and upon the reconsideration of old texts.

## IV.

It will, I think, be allowed that the subject of the Petrine texts and of the position assigned to St. Peter in the Bible and in the subsequent history of the Church has not been generally and seriously considered by ourselves. It is seldom, if ever, treated in our pulpits; seldom, if ever, introduced into clerical or other discussions. In a few controversial writings, of course, it has come to the front, but this does not bring it under the notice of the general reader. Meantime, the assumption has slowly and almost imperceptibly insinuated itself into our minds that the whole Church of England at some point of time in the past, after a solemn and careful reconsideration of the passages before us, deliberately repudiated the ancient interpretation of their meaning. But this is not, I think, the case; and would it not be truer to say that the changes of the Reformation came first and that the new explanations were made to conform to these changes afterwards.

Let the case be fairly considered. The Rule of Faith points us to the Bible and to primitive times; to the teaching of scripture and what the Catholic fathers collected out of the same. How many people in our Congregations have been made aware of this teaching in its bearing upon the Petrine texts? St. Cyprian was a favourite author with the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Pusey almost accepted him as an exponent, or at least as one whose writings justified the position of the Anglican Church. But, whereas many of our people read and are encouraged to read their Bibles, how many of them are acquainted with the writings of the Fathers? How many of them have listened to an instruction on the subject of St. Peter and the Holy See according to Cyprian; or upon the same subject as expounded by St. Chrysostom?

How many of them have given their attention to the

subject of the First Four Councils, all of which are acknowledged by the Anglican Communion?

At the time of the last of these Councils, St. Leo was Bishop of the Apostolic See; how many members of any Congregation in England know what was St. Leo's estimate of his own position, or how he was deliberately addressed in a Synodal letter which emanated from that Council (A.D. 451)?

“‘For thou art Peter,’ that is whilst I am the immutable Rock, I the Corner-stone who make both one, I the foundation beside which no one can lay another; yet thou also art a rock, because by my virtue thou art firmly planted, so that whatever is peculiar to me, by power, is to thee by participation common with me,—‘and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.’ And again: ‘The privilege of Peter, therefore, remaineth. . . .’ And once more: ‘Out of the whole world Peter alone is chosen to preside over the calling of all the Gentiles, and over all the Apostles and the collected Fathers of the Church; so that, though there be among the people of God many priests and many shepherds, yet Peter rules all by immediate commission, whom Christ also rules by sovereign power.’ Such is St. Leo’s interpretation of the Petrine text; and he plainly regarded himself as the successor of St. Peter and as holding a unique position in relation to the whole Church of God.

How on the other hand did the Council of Chalcedon regard him? Did it not declare, in a synodal letter, that, in the persons of his legates, “he presided over them as the head over the members?” Did not the Council say that Leo was “intrusted by the Saviour with the guardianship of the vine?”

This falls well within the compass of what is recognised as a basis of Anglicanism; but how many of the English people have been made acquainted with it?

If our congregations are to be admonished to test our teaching of Scripture by having recourse to the

sacred text for themselves, should they not be referred in the same way also to the Fathers?

Under such circumstances would it be possible for the multitude of people to continue to entertain the loose notions they now hold upon the subject of Unity in general, or of St. Peter in particular?

Is not the true answer to this question that the whole study of the Fathers has been only gradually dawning upon the Church of England?

There are a considerable number of people living among us now who were also alive when Newman wrote these words:

"Consider," he said, "that at the present moment (1839), in the three great literary countries of Europe—Germany, France, and England—translations of the Fathers, in series, are now in course of publication, by a simultaneous and apparently independent movement in each place. . . . All these are signs of change, not in this or that individual, but in the public mind. The reading public is coming under the influence of notions and convictions very different from those which have been fashionable of late. . . . England cannot any longer be Calvinistic or Zuinglian, or Lutheran."

"Very different from those which have been fashionable of late," and "cannot any longer be Calvinistic." Thus it may be said that seventy years ago the Fathers were practically unknown among us. But coming to more recent years, how many ordination candidates knew a single line of a single Father, twenty years ago; and if they did not know them before their ordination how many of them were at the pains to read them afterwards?

And at the present moment how many of the clergy are in the habit of studying the Fathers? A considerable number, it may be said; an increasing number; certainly, but what proportion do they bear to the whole? And furthermore, what chance have the Petrine texts

had in this absence of patristic reading? In the rare instances in which attempt has been made to expound them they have been examined in the light of a dreary and unanalysed prejudice. But for the most part it is true, I think to say, that they have been left severely alone.

The case at present, then, appears to stand thus:—A large majority of the clergy, and we may almost say the entire body of the laity, while devoting themselves to one constituent of the Catholic basis, know nothing whatever about the other. Plainly, therefore, our efforts towards reunion require to be more methodical and elaborate; and if some knowledge of the Fathers were required as an essential condition of ordination the clergy would have passed through a scientific education upon the subject of Unity, and we should have a larger measure of agreement among ourselves and in relation to others.

However this may be, it is certain in many instances when attention has been directed to the prominence of St. Peter in the Gospels and Acts, and the interpretation put upon this prominence by the Fathers, the phenomenon has broken upon us like some new revelation.

## VI.

When writing on the subject of the Petrine texts, some forty years ago, Robert Wilberforce accounted for this anomaly by suggesting that the traditional interpretation of Scripture, prevalent in his day, was derived in great measure from writers who were not Episcopalians, such as Calvin, Luther, Drusius, Grotius; and, coming nearer to his own day, Henry Doddridge, and others. "The one Anglican commentator of importance," he writes, "is Hammond." As, then, we ceased to know our Roman Catholic brethren, in earlier days because they were withdrawn from public notice by the

operation of the penal laws and barely tolerated by the society of those times, so the entire Catholic interpretation of the Bible was simply away until the Oxford Movement brought it back to us.

The study of the Fathers revived the notion of a visible Church and more particularly of that Unity which is the first note of the Church; and the doctrine of Unity brought us face to face with other Communion, and especially with Rome; next, among the advanced section, came societies and projects for Reunion, until thirty years after the commencement of the Oxford Movement, distinct advances were made to the Holy See; and now at length and in due course the Petrine texts have come up for consideration. And until our attention is called to these passages we are apt to pass over the various commentaries upon them that are scattered up and down the Fathers, and so to deal with these writers as we have sometimes dealt with the writers of the New Testament, and to see only what we bring with us and not all that is really there.

There is, of course, no question as to the integrity of our Dissenting brethren, and yet they are only now beginning to recognise symptoms of Episcopacy in the pages of the New Testament; and we know that there are whole books in that portion of the Bible in which we may search in vain for any allusion to the government of the Church.

And so with the Fathers; it is true, of course, that St. Cyprian speaks of the Apostles all having received equal power—"Certainly the other Apostles also were what Peter was, endowed with an equal fellowship, both of honour and power." St. Cyprian said this, but then he also said: "There is one Church and one Chair, founded by the voice of the Lord upon a rock." He also called the See of Rome "The Chair of Peter and the principal Church; whence the Unity of the Priesthood took its rise, and to which faithlessness can have no access." And so in quoting from the Fathers through-

out. Nothing is stranger than this law of our minds which enables us to be so near to a subject and yet not to come into any living contact with it; and to reiterate and reiterate as I am doing now; and to gravitate back and back again to the one point constitutes the process that is known as bringing a subject under the reader's notice.

One and the same neighbourhood may present itself to the mind of an archæologist as—quaint and alive with interesting remains; while to the mind of a farmer it is known—to have a famous soil; whereas a clergyman who is said to be acquainted with every inch of the ground knows it as—his parish.

So the strong practical man of the world sees the Bible and has his own way of viewing it; for after all “What does the Lord require of thee, but to do justice, and love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God?” What chance will any question of doctrine be found to have at such a moment and with such a man! He will travel over the ground of doctrine as every one must who reads his Bible, but he will do so as one who is on his way elsewhere; and it is the “elsewhere” that is the governing thought. Such thoughts are found to drive the mind on before them as a master would a school of boys, for whom to glance for a moment to the right hand or to the left may be suffered; whereas to fall out of the ranks and seriously to examine what they see is understood to be against the rule.

So Petrine texts within the Bible and impressive commentaries upon them in the Fathers outside do not lie in the direct line of our route; we catch sight of them from time to time as we pass, but it would be contrary to our habits to fall out of the ranks to examine them.

But let our attention on some particular day be expressly directed to them, so that the end and aim of our mind's excursion shall be no longer merely to see them but also to take up our abode and dwell there; then all is changed.

And since the need of the hour is some one to guide, and Holy Scripture provides a universal basis, no portion of the sacred text must be shut off from view; nor any merely modern interpretation of it be suffered to monopolise the ground. Our confusion is daily before us and drives us of necessity on to those very passages which speak to us of government, and therefore of the proportion of persons within the Apostolic College; and whereas it is possible to crowd the mind and almost to drown the judgment with a flood of forgeries:—"The forged Arabic Canons of Nicæa;" Cyprianic Interpolations; the False Decretals; and other serious obstructions; and so to bewilder and exhaust our spirits before we arrive at the plain wording of Scripture, we have to learn how to deal with such obstructions when we come to them and also how to pass them by. No stone must be left unturned that may serve to promote that Unity which is according to our Lord's will, and the absence of which, therefore, is found seriously to impede our progress.

With such thoughts in my mind, then, I shall make some attempt to set down in outline the evidence upon this subject as it presents itself to us in Scripture and as it has been interpreted for us by the Catholic Fathers of the Church.

### SECTION III.—THE FIRST—SIMON.

And first, I shall call attention to the prominence of St. Peter in the Gospels, and in the first half of the Acts, and then go on to ask what bearing this prominence has upon the question that is before us.

#### I.

In the four Gospels, the name "Peter" is mentioned as often as ninety-one times, whereas the name which



comes next to his, viz. St. John, appears only thirty-eight times within the compass of the entire New Testament.

And this prominence is more marked when we come to the Acts, that is to the period immediately succeeding the withdrawal of our Lord's Visible Presence; for here, in the course of the first twelve chapters, relating as they do to the history of the Church in the days of its foundation, the name Peter occurs more than fifty times; no other Apostle being mentioned within the same compass more than seven or eight times.

Now mere quantity, of course, is not to be mistaken for quality; and men are not necessarily good or great because their names are constantly in print; it will be necessary therefore to seek for a proper explanation of this prominence.

Meantime it is a fact that after an oral Gospel had been developed and delineated in the minds of the Apostles, and all things had been brought to their remembrance by the Holy Spirit, sayings, events and persons came before them in a certain shape and assumed a certain proportion; Our Lord Himself appearing as the unique figure of all, and the prominent person after Him being the person of St. Peter. They looked back upon the great moving scene of the Gospel and that is how they saw it; they sat down to write, and that is how they described it. It may be well to set down the figures in order that we may have them before us:—

The Four	{ St. Peter 91;	} Entire New Testament.
Gospels	{ The next—St. John 38 in	
Acts i—xii	{ St. Peter 50;	
	{ The next 8;	

Now if we follow and examine this prominence we trace it up eventually to a point in our Lord's mind where it will be found to form part of His divine purpose.

Let us place ourselves again, then, by the side of the sacred writers and observe the order in which they are

led to set down the names of the twelve Apostles. St. Matthew commences thus: The first—Simon; and the four lists may here be transcribed:—

*St. Matthew.*

1. Simon }
2. Andrew }
3. James }
4. John }
5. Philip
6. Bartholomew
7. Thomas
8. Matthew
9. James of Alphaeus
10. Lebbeaus
11. Simon the Canaanite
12. Judas Iscariot

*St. Luke.*

1. Simon }
2. Andrew }
3. James }
4. John }
5. Philip
6. Bartholomew
7. Matthew
8. Thomas
9. James
10. Simon Zelotes
11. Jude of James
12. Judas Iscariot

*St. Mark.*

1. Simon
2. James }
3. John }
4. Andrew
5. Philip
6. Bartholomew
7. Matthew
8. Thomas
9. James
10. Thaddeus
11. Simon the Canaanite
12. Judas Iscariot

*Acts.*

1. Peter
2. John }
3. James }
4. Andrew
5. Philip
6. Thomas
7. Bartholomew
8. Matthew
9. James
10. Simon Zelotes
11. Judas of James

Thus, in the above lists, the name of Simon Peter appears first and that of Judas Iscariot last in every case. Other names vary; these never.

Upon what principle is this order based? It would appear to be the principle of precedence in dignity. Thus, so far, we have seen that among the persons who belong to the great situation in the Gospels the name of St. Peter stands out from all the rest, after the name of our Lord; and in the lists of these persons his name is designedly set down first in every case.

## II.

Now, that it is precedence in dignity that explains this prominence is a conviction that grows upon us as we come to look more closely into it; for when we pass from the formal lists of the Apostles to the less formal narratives of events in which they have played their part, the same phenomenon meets us.

1 Gospels (1) "Peter and the two sons of Zebedee."

(2) "And Jesus said 'who touched me?' When all denied Peter and they that were with him. . . ."

(3) "Simon (Our Lord is addressing all the apostles through Peter) Simon, Satan hath desired to have you (plural). . . but I have prayed for thee. . . ."

(4) "And Simon and they that were with him followed after him."

(5) "Go, tell His disciples and Peter."

2 Acts (1) "Peter standing up with the Eleven."

(2) "Peter filled with the Holy Ghost, saith, 'If we this day be examined.'"

(3) "Then Peter and the other apostles answered. . . ."

Here, again, as the sacred writers came to look back, and the procession of events, the series of situations, passed before their eyes, St. Peter stood out from the rest. So they saw him, so, in a natural way, they described him.

And one instance, which occurs beyond the limits we had proposed, may here be mentioned. In relating the appearances of our Lord St. Paul writes, "He was seen of Cephas, then of the Twelve."

Thus it is not merely that St. Peter's name is mentioned a great number of times, and that it appears first on the lists of the apostles, but the same proportion appears in the less formal groupings of the Gospel narrative.

## III.

Now if we lift our eyes from the mere name as such and the order in which it is mentioned and place ourselves at St Peter's side as we traverse the pages of the Gospels and the Acts, he appears again always to the front. Thus:—

- 1 Gospels (1) The Disciples are in a boat on the Sea of Galilee, and it is St. Peter who distinguishes himself from the rest, and asks our Lord to invite him: "Lord, if it be Thou, bid me come to Thee on the water." He steps out of the boat and surpasses the rest.
- (2) St. Peter acts as spokesman for the rest. "Declare unto us this parable."
- (3) St. Peter in answer to the question ("Whom say ye that I am?") declares "Thou art the Christ."
- (4) At the Mount of Transfiguration James and John are also there, but it is Peter who speaks, and speaks for all, "It is good for us to be here. . . ."
- (5) St. Peter follows Our Lord to the place of Judgment.
- (6) To St. Peter the news of the Resurrection is expressly conveyed in the first instance, and St. Paul, as we have seen, records the fact. "He was seen of Cephas, then of the Twelve."
- (7) To St. Peter it is said "Feed my lambs. . . . Feed my sheep."
- 2 Acts (1) The place of Judas is to be filled; who is to fill it? "In those days Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples, and said, 'Men and brethren, this Scripture must needs have been fulfilled which the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David spake. . . . (In relation to Judas Iscariot). . . . Wherefore, of these men which have companied with us all the time. . . . must one be ordained to be a witness with us of His Resurrection.'"

Thus it has been truly said that it is Peter who "opens the deliberations of the widowed Church, proposes the subject of debate, and prescribes the course of proceeding."

- (2) On the Day of Pentecost "Peter, standing up with the Eleven," defends the brethren, and amplifies his defence into a sermon, which he concludes with these words: "Therefore, let all the House of Israel know assuredly that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ."

The multitude, being pricked in the heart, "said unto Peter and to the rest of the apostles, 'Men and brethren, what shall we do?'" Peter at once undertakes to answer, "Repent and be baptised every one of you. . . ."

- (3) In the miracle at the Gate, Peter and John are associated in the good work, but it is Peter who actually performs the miracle, and Peter who addresses the people afterwards.
- (4) When the apostles are summoned before the Council it is St. Peter who vindicates his brother and himself.
- (5) In the Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv) St. Peter takes the lead by laying down the basis for a decision; St. James, as local bishop, appeals to his statement and gives his judgment accordingly. There had previously been "much disputing," then at length Peter stands up and addresses them thus:—

"Men and brethren, ye know how that a good while ago God made choice among us, that the Gentiles by my mouth should hear the word of the Gospel, and believe. And God, which knoweth the hearts bare them witness, giving them the Holy Ghost, even as He did unto us, and put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith.

"Now, therefore, why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?"

"But we believe that through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved even as they."

The next to speak are Barnabas and Paul, and they are able from their own experience to corroborate what St. Peter has been saying; declaring what miracles and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them."

At length and in the end St. James, the local Bishop, speaks. James answered, saying: "Men and brethren hearken unto me: Simeon hath declared how God at the first did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for His name. And to this agree the words of the prophets; as it is written" (here a quotation from Amos ix, 11, 12,) and then at last: "Wherefore my sentence is," etc., etc.

Now regarding this passage as it stands, divesting ourselves as far as we may of our prejudices and of all the "festering resentments" of later days, and having entered within the precincts of Scripture let us shut to the door and merely as Bible Christians see what this situation can do for us, by asking what proportion of things obtained in this Council.

The occasion may be said to comprise several moments.

- (a) Paul and Barnabas are at Antioch, and a great dispute arises about Circumcision, certain men having come down from Jndæa and taught the brethren that except they were circumcised after the manner of Moses they could not be saved.

After much dissension and disputation it is determined that Paul and Barnabas "should go up to Jerusalem to the apostles and elders about this question."

Now the latter half of the book of the Acts is devoted as we know to the special and wonderful experiences of

St. Paul, and it is sometimes therefore supposed that he supplanted St. Peter, but the situation before us incidentally shows that this could not have been. About this more may be said later. Meantime in a momentous question having to do with the Faith, St. Paul did not take upon himself to decide the matter, but came with Barnabas to Jerusalem.

- (b) Next we find ourselves at the Council, "The apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter."

After much disputing, "Peter rose up and said . . . ."

The very question before them had been expressly revealed to Peter in the vision of the sheet let down from Heaven. And now he makes a declaration of principle.

- (c) Paul and Barnabas, the two who had come expressly from Antioch to lay the matter before the Apostolic body, naturally state their experiences in order to show how facts, in the shape of miraculous works, served to confirm the principle St. Peter had laid down. It was, as we may say, giving their evidence before the Council.

- (d) The local bishop then gives his vote, expressly basing it upon the declaration of principle laid down by St. Peter.

- (e) "Then pleased it the apostles and elders, with the whole Church, to send chosen men. . . . And they wrote letters by them after this manner: 'The apostles and elders and brethren send greeting unto the brethren who are of the Gentiles in Antioch, etc.'"

Regarding the situation as a whole, is not St. Peter the visible centre of it, and is not the moment of his declaration the decisive moment? Had we been present at the Council as strangers from outside should we not have given this account of the matter?

Come now to the latter end of the nineteenth century,

and a dispute arises not upon the subject of the great Jewish rite but upon the subject of incense. Here again there is much disputing until at length the Archbishop rises up and speaks. A local Bishop then "answers" this by addressing the clergy of his diocese "Men and brethren hearken unto me: The Archbishop has declared . . . . wherefore my sentence is that we adopt his declaration . . . ."

The case, of course, is not a complete parallel; there is no parallel in the very nature of things to the apostolic situation. Christians all over the earth, whether Roman, Greek, Anglican or otherwise, recognise that "all the apostles were equal in point of order, of spiritual rank, of all that comes under the head of the sacerdotium;" but those who recognise the prominence of St. Peter say that without being above the rest in all that was essential to the apostolate he was "the greater" of whom Our Lord spoke; and St. Cyprian supports this view: "For the inculcation of Unity He disposed by His authority that the beginning of that Unity should have its rise in one."

"The other apostles were what Peter was, endowed with a like share of honour and power, but the beginning was made from one, that the Church might be shown to be one . . . ."

And so again St. Chrysostom describes St. Peter as the Chief of the apostles, or again as the Mouthpiece of the apostles.

The case is not parallel because St. James was another apostle, and a modern Bishop is not one of the original band; nor again is the ultimate decision in this latter case addressed to the whole Church; but the situation is not without its lessons. It is understood, of course, that Bishops and Archbishops alike are equals; and yet, to show how instinctively human nature moves when she is feeling her way to Unity, it is suggested that the beginning should be made from one; and if this instinct is so essential a part of human nature that you must



quit life altogether if you would be rid of it and of the evidence that lies about us everywhere in support of it, is it not natural to expect that He who took our essential human nature upon Him should so far speak out of that human nature and according to its normal principles? If in attempting to recover Unity we cannot move without displaying this principle, is it a strange thing that our Lord should have not only recognised it but made some provision for its exercise? However this may be, I think it is true to say that St. Peter is the visible head of the Council at Jerusalem, and that this is only one out of many other instances in the New Testament which point to his Primacy.

It may be well here to set down two expositions of this situation from post Reformation divines.

Thorndike, an Anglican dignitary of his day, and a name famous among the Tractarians, writes thus: "The decree of the Council as it is resolved upon St. Peter's reason, so is it framed and drawn up in St. James' terms; the one as the first of the apostles, the other as having the charge of the Church there." And an eminent Anglican divine of our time, belonging to the moderate school, writes: "There is nothing in St. Luke's words (in the Acts) which bears out what is often said that St. James presided over the Conference at Jerusalem. . . . In the decisive speeches at the end the lead is taken by St. Peter, the foremost of the twelve. . . . The words which begin his (St. James's) conclusion cannot reasonably be understood as an authoritative judgment pronounced by himself independently. The whole context of what is said in verse 22 about the actual decision makes that interpretation morally impossible. . . . The sense is doubtless, 'I for my part judge. This is my vote,' as we should say. . . ." (Hort.)

The entire passage (Acts xv to verse 30) should be read, of course, first, and the several portions examined afterwards.

And now to pass on:—

- (6) It is St. Peter who pronounces sentence on Simon Magus.
- (7) It is St. Peter who pronounces the solemn sentence of death upon Ananias and Sapphira.
- (8) It is St. Peter who is distinguished from the rest and selected when the special revelation is to be made relating to the Gentiles.

This was a great epoch in the history of the new Church, and one of the most momentous events in all history when it was made known to St. Peter first and through him to others afterwards that all nations, and not the Jews only, were to have their part and place in one Church. In this instance St. Peter acts without conferring with the apostles, and afterwards declares to the apostles themselves the grounds upon which he had acted.

Thus, it will be observed, the same apostle who takes the lead in the Church while it is confined to the Circumcision is specially informed by revelation when it is to be extended to the Uncircumcision.

- (9) St. Peter in Prison. The prayers of the whole Church are offered night and day for him, and he is miraculously released. It is evidently regarded as something that touches the Church at its very heart and centre.
- (10) The multitude bring their sick into the streets so that at least the shadow of Peter passing by may overshadow some of them.

#### IV.

Here, then, is what lies on the face of the Gospels and the Acts; and it may, I think, be stated in the words of Canon Oakeley addressed to a mixed congregation of Catholics and Protestants:—

“One apostle marked off from the rest is found “to

act a leading part in the counsels of the apostolic Church, which it is impossible to explain upon any theory but that of his pre-eminence in the apostolic College;

“The same apostle determines important questions, his judgment being accepted by his brethren as final.

“No great apostolical work is undertaken without him while some are entrusted to his single ‘administration.’

“The power of life and death, the special prerogative of sovereign authority, is exercised by him alone. His presence is regarded as peculiarly important to the Church; indeed as the hinge upon which its fortunes turn.”

So far, then, we have been led to call attention to the prominence of St. Peter’s name, and the prominent part that St. Peter himself is found to play in the life of the New Testament. This is the point before us at present.

In the Gospels we witness the gradual formation of the mystical body of Christ; and in the case of this body, as with others, there is a certain proportion in its make.

Our Saviour stands before us, alone in the first instance, and forms in His own person the nucleus around which the materials are seen to group themselves afterwards. As the Society comes out to view the person of St. Peter at once begins to show in front; and the question I now have to ask is whether any similar phenomenon, that is, whether any similar prominence presents itself in the Church of the Fathers and in the ages which follow.

## SECTION IV.—THE FIRST SEE.

It will be found, then, I think, when we pass from Scripture to the Fathers that the same phenomenon meets us; the Christian Society is before us again, and one leader shows at once in front, one See at once comes out to view; and this leader claims to be the successor of Him who led before, and this See to be the Apostolic See.

For the purpose of the outline that I now desire to indicate it may be convenient to distribute the periods of time thus: From the end of the first to the end of the third century; from the end of the third century to the end of the sixth; from the end of the sixth century to the end of the fifteenth; and from the Reformation to our own day.

The divisions will then appear thus:

(1)	A.D.	100	-	-	300
(2)	"	300	-	-	600
(3)	"	600	-	-	1500
(4)	"	1500	-	-	1900

## I.

Now in regard to these four periods it is understood, of course, that in the first three centuries, which were centuries of persecution, the life of the Church was hidden away from view; and that the records of that life, in every aspect of it, are few as well as fragmentary. Such is the general character of the first period, and in alluding to its earlier portion, that is, the history of the Church before the year 170, Professor Ramsay goes so far as to say that the only point universally agreed upon is its obscurity. We must, then, so far be content with that which we have; and in this part of my chapter, that is in the first and second of the periods I have laid down, I shall follow mainly in the steps of Mr. Everest.

## 1. First Period A.D. 100—300.

- (1) In the year A.D. 96, St. Clement of Rome addresses a letter to the Church of Corinth, that is, at about the same point of time as the fourth Gospel is generally understood to have been written. The aim of this letter is to heal those unhappy divisions of which we see the first symptoms in St. Paul's Epistle to the same Church; and St. Irenaeus (A.D. 198) Bishop of Lyons, afterwards alluded to this letter thus: "The Church which is at Rome wrote a most powerful letter to the Corinthians, gathering them together to peace and repairing their faith, and announcing the tradition which it had so recently received from the Apostles."
- (2) In A.D. 150, when nearly ninety years of age, St. Polycarp, formerly a disciple of St. John, journeyed all the way from Smyrna to Rome, of which Anicetus was at that time the Bishop. St. Polycarp was Bishop of Smyrna, and one object of his visit, Eusebius tells us, was to discuss the proper time for keeping Easter. The visit "stands out as a most impressive fact, eloquent of the position to which the Roman Church had even then attained," for "the journey, or rather voyage, from Smyrna in Asia Minor, right across the Mediterranean to Italy, was a long one, and in those days perhaps not unattended with some amount of danger."
- (3) Victor became Bishop of Rome about the year A.D. 190, and the vexed question of Easter was still before the Church; finding himself confronted by this problem, that is, the divergence of custom between the Churches of Asia Minor and those of other countries, he "used his influence"—to employ the language of Robertson—for the establishment of uniformity throughout the whole Church. The same historian goes

on to say that "Councils were held, apparently by his desire, in countries widely distant from each other—in Palestine, Pontus, Osrhoëne, Greece, and Gaul; all these gave evidence that the custom of their own Churches agreed with that of the Roman, and were favourable to the wishes of Victor. The Asiatics, however, in their council, refused to depart from their traditional rule." Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, wrote to Victor in his own name and in the name of his brethren, assuring him that the apostles St. Philip and St. John, together with other venerable personages who had belonged to the Church of Asia, had given their sanction to the quarto-deciman usage, and that he intended to abide by it, inasmuch as the custom was apostolical in its origin and nowhere condemned in Scripture. To this Victor returned an imperious answer, in which he excommunicated, or threatened to excommunicate, the Asiatics. No one, whether friend or foe, appears to have justified his tone and temper; and Irenæus (A.D. 202), the Bishop of Lyons, made some attempt to mediate, and, in his letter to Victor, pointed to the example of his predecessor, Anicetus, and urged that such a question should not "be made the ground for a breach of Communion," inasmuch, as a diversity of customs had hitherto been allowed, and the fact of the Church recognising variations in matters of this kind, would tend to increase the respect of her children for other more fundamental points on which agreement was unanimous. Peace was thus restored, and the Asiatics "were allowed"—I use Robertson's language again—were allowed to retain their custom until the time of the Council of Nicæa.

Eusebius, in referring to the letter of mediation written by Irenæus to Victor, says: "Irenæus becom-

ingly (προσηχόντως) admonishes Victor not to cut off whole Churches of God, who observed the tradition of an ancient custom ;” and he goes on to explain that this cutting off of Churches signified the separation of them from the Common Unity (τῆς κοινῆς ἐνώσεως)—the Unity of the Catholic Church.

Now up to this point of time—we have the testimony of Irenaeus for it—“In the Church of Rome the tradition from the Apostles had always been preserved by men from all parts.”

Let us place ourselves, then, in imagination, at that point of time (about A.D. 203) and picture the state of the case.

St. John has been dead about a hundred years, and a bishop of Rome requests that councils shall be held in various and widely different parts of the world, to consider the question that was then before the Church. The Councils are accordingly held and “evidence” is given. The Asiatics are excommunicated or threatened with excommunication for not conforming to the Roman custom ; and Irenaeus becomingly admonishes Victor.

Is there any evidence that Victor’s right to take some steps was disputed and disallowed ? Or is it only that the particular steps he proposed to take were ill-advised ?

If all records of resistance to alleged authority signify that that authority has no existence, how is it that, after the continuous disputes of the past sixty years in England, there are any Archbishops or Bishops left in this country at all. Disputes have come up and threatened the peace of the Church, and Archbishops and Bishops as leaders of the Church in this country have taken action in each case ; and in a great number of instances they have been resisted ; but not on the plea that they had no right to act at all but that they had no right to act in the way they did. And so with Victor, the answer to whom would surely have been, “What have you to do with all the world ? Stay at

home and mind Rome." That is the preliminary question whenever any one steps out from his province. But in this case they argue with him on the merits of the question not upon his right to take action upon it; and a distinguished bishop, whose name has been handed down in history, offers Victor advice, but in a becoming manner, and asks him to realise the awful consequences of the step he is proposing to take.

Here, then, surely we have the several personages of the Church before us, and one person shows in front; surely here we have the dioceses of the Church before us, and one diocese comes to the front. One diocese there is, in the year A.D. 200, which is prominent; and one Bishop whose right to take the initiative in relation to the entire Church is, so far, not disallowed.

This appears to be the fact, however it is to be accounted for; and this latter point has not yet come up for consideration.

(4) Tertullian (A.D. 200), turning to the Roman Church, exclaims: "O Church, happy in its position into which the Apostles poured out their whole doctrine;" and a few years after Pope Victor had been directing his attention to the whole Church, Tertullian turned in a moment of anger to his successor, Pope Zephyrinus, and addressed him in the language of irony - "Pontifex Maximus, Bishop of Bishops, the Apostolic Papa;" that is, he reproached him, seeing that he held so exalted a position, with relaxing the strictness of the penance discipline.

Tertullian was well acquainted with Rome and with the Roman Church; and its position in relation to the entire Church was, in his eyes, unique, and its Bishop supreme.

(5) We come now to St. Stephen and St. Cyprian. "As the name of Origen is famous in the history of doctrine, that of his contemporary Cyprian is no less so in connection with the government



and discipline of the Church." Stephen, Bishop of Rome 253, seems to have fallen into the same mistake as Victor had done forty years earlier, and to have become embroiled with some of the Asiatic Bishops, upon the question, this time, of the rebaptism of heretics; and Cyprian was drawn into the dispute. Here, then, we have the Bishop of Rome and the Bishop of Carthage in conflict.

St. Cyprian argued strongly for the rebaptism of all converts from heresy and schism. There could be no forgiveness, he said, unless within the Church; and "the water could not be sanctified into cleansing by one who was himself unclean." Moreover, the principle of rebaptism had been affirmed by three Carthaginian Councils, the last of which was held in September, 256. After the second of these Councils envoys were sent to Stephen, but so far from entertaining them, he charged his flock not to show them hospitality; denounced Cyprian in language which Robertson characterises as outrageous; and broke off communion with the Africans as he had already done with the Asiatics. Stephen appears to have died immediately afterwards (A.D. 257); and the question was, in any case, ultimately settled in his sense.

In this case, Dionysius of Alexandria seems to have acted a part somewhat similar to that of Irenaeus at an earlier date, except that he was in agreement with the Roman view, and Irenaeus, in his case, was against it.

But here again we have before us a church "into which the Apostles had poured all their doctrine" coming to the front, and the Bishop of that Church, express it as dispassionately as you may, considering himself justified in holding out against the Asiatic and African Churches and severing them from communion with him and his.

Surely we have here the prominence of a person and the prominence also of his See; and as in the other instance so also in this there is no repudiation of

Stephen's claim to this prominence. Cyprian "did not dispute pre-eminence in point of rank with the Bishop of Rome."

2. Second Period A.D. 300—600.

- (1) In the quarrel that arose between Athanasius, the famous Bishop of Alexandria, and his Arian and Semi-Arian opponents (A.D. 340) the questions between them are constantly referred to Rome by both parties. In the event two of the Archbishop's bitterest enemies, Arsacius and Valens, having been condemned by the Council of Sardica, withdrew their charges, and wrote letters to the Pope and also to the Archbishop. The letters were, both of them, letters of apology; but the letter to the Pope is addressed as to a superior, and that to St. Athanasius as to an equal. (*Historical Tracts of S Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria.*) Here again, then, among the personages of the Church in 340, one person there is who shows in front and is so far superior to the rest.
- (2) At the Council of Nicæa 325, two legates were present to represent Pope Sylvester. And the Council of Sardica (349), convened by Julius, recognised by Canon the Pope's power of sending legates into foreign provinces to hear appeals, *ut de latere suo Presbyterum mittat* (*Historical Tracts*, p. 39, Note A).
- (3) St. Leo the Great was Pope in A.D. 461, and he speaks thus "Do not think it any invasion of your rights if you see me in this way taking precautionary measures against unlawful presumption. Our care extends over the whole Church. . . ." This is interesting both for what it expressly says and for what it implies. In this actual world no human governor is perfect, for the mere reason that he is human; and in the long history of the Church and the vast area

over which it extends, and the almost infinite variety of tempers it comprises, few exhibitions of government will be without some taint of imperfection alike in those who rule and in those who obey. In the year in which I am writing (1901) Pastoral letters have been addressed to their several flocks alike by the Anglican and Roman Bishops, and in both instances the duty of obedience has been strenuously urged on the one side, and particular manifestations of authority have been strongly resented on the other. However, the point before us is the prominence of a person, and it is certain, in regard to personages in the Church about the year 470, that there was one who obviously showed in front, and that one was Leo,

- (4) Gregory the Great, who sent Augustine to England (597) has therefore a special interest for ourselves, and a special interest, too, in regard to the point now before us.

Unlike the characters of Victor and Stephen, that of Gregory is conspicuous for its modesty. In a letter addressed by him to one Eulogius, he complains: "In the preface of your letter you apply to me, who prohibited it, the proud title of Universal Pope, which thing I beg your most sweet Holiness to do no more; because what is given to others, beyond what reason requires, is subtracted from you. I do not esteem that an honour by which I know my brethren lose their honour. My honour is that of the Universal Church. I am then truly honoured when all and each one are allowed the honour due unto them. For if your Holiness call me Universal Pope, you deny yourself to be that which you call me universally. No more of this; away with words which inflate pride and wound charity." And Gregory's vehement denunciation of John the Faster, Patriarch of Constantinople, for daring to assume the title of Universal Bishop is, of course, well known.

And yet this same Gregory, speaking of the See of Constantinople and of all other dioceses whatsoever, exclaims: "Who doubts that it (Constantinople) is subject to the Apostolic See? I know not what Bishop is not subject to it if fault be found in him."

And, again, "Wherefore, though there were many Apostles, yet the See of the Prince of the Apostles alone has acquired a principality of authority."

John the Faster assumed the title of universal bishop in the interests of imperialism and, as Mr. Everest says, "on purely human grounds." Gregory's proper dignity rested on wholly different grounds, the consideration of which belongs to another part of this chapter.

Meantime, in the year 597, and as regards the entire Church, one person there evidently is who shows in front of all other persons, and one See that claims pre-eminence over other Sees. That See is known as The Apostolic See or The Holy See, and that person as Gregory the Great.

### 3. Third Period A.D. 600—1500.

In regard to the third period, long and eventful as it is, I shall content myself with a few general statements and a few special instances. The prominence of the Holy See during the Middle Ages is too obvious to call for much comment in this chapter: In days like the present, however, when it is the fashion to speak lightly of the Church as though she had ever been the enemy and not the mother of progress, and when the freedom of the Church is spoken of as though it signified freedom from the Holy See and not freedom from the domination of the State, it may be well to recall to our minds the great debt which the entire civilised world owes to the Church during the long and eventful period we are now contemplating.

The famous passage from Milman so often quoted in this connection may once more be set down here in illustration of what I am saying. In allusion to the times of Gregory I, the writer says: "The Papacy was

“the only power which lay not entirely and absolutely prostrate before the disasters of the times—a power which had an inherent strength, and might resume its majesty. It was this power which was most imperatively required to preserve all which was to survive out of the crumbling wreck of Roman civilisation. To Western Christianity was absolutely necessary a centre, standing alone, strong in traditionary reverence, and in acknowledged claims to supremacy. Even the perfect organisation of the Christian hierarchy might in all human probability have fallen to pieces in perpetual conflict: it might have degenerated into a half-secular feudal caste, with hereditary benefices more and more entirely subservient to the civil authority, a priesthood of each nation or each tribe, gradually sinking to the intellectual or religious level of the nation or tribe. On the rise of a power both controlling and conservative hung, humanly speaking, the life and death of Christianity—of Christianity as a permanent, aggressive, expansive, and to a certain extent uniform system. There must be a counter balance to barbaric force, to the unavoidable anarchy of Teutonism, with its tribal, or at the utmost national independence, forming a host of small, conflicting, antagonistic kingdoms. All Europe would have been what England was under the Octarchy, what Germany was when her emperors were weak; and even her emperors she owed to Rome, to the Church, to Christianity. Providence might have otherwise ordained; but it is impossible for man to imagine by what other organising or consolidating force the commonwealth of the Western nations could have grown up to a discordant, indeed, and conflicting league, but still a league, with that unity and conformity of manners, usages, laws, religion, which made their rivalries, oppugnancies, and even their long ceaseless wars on the whole to issue in the noblest, highest, most intellectual form of civilisation known to man. . . . It is impossible to conceive what had been the confusion, the lawlessness,

the chaotic state of the Middle Ages, without the medieval Papacy; and of the medieval Papacy the real father is Gregory the Great. . . . It is a Christian dominion of which he lays the foundations in the Eternal City. . . ."

This famous passage may serve as a general statement testifying to that prominence of one bishop and one see to which I have been calling attention as to a continuous fact from the first.

And from a vast number of particular statements one may be selected from the writings of Grostete, Bishop of Lincoln, whose memory is revered by the English people. He speaks in one place of "lightening the burthen of our Lord the Pope, to whom belongs, under Heaven, the supreme care of all churches and of all souls. . . ."

I will quote only one other special instance; and that appears in the famous letter of St. Bernard to Pope Eugenius III:—Who art thou? The High Priest, the Supreme Bishop. . . . Thou art he to whom the Keys of Heaven are given, to whom the sheep are entrusted. There are indeed other doorkeepers and other shepherds of the flocks; but thou art more glorious in proportion as thou hast also in a different fashion inherited before others both these names. The former have their flocks assigned to them, each one his own. To thee all are entrusted, one flock for the one. Not merely for the sheep, but for all the shepherds also thou art the one shepherd. . . . Canst thou not, when a just reason occurs, shut up Heaven against a Bishop, depose him from the Episcopal office, and deliver him over to Satan? Thus thy privilege is immutable as well in the keys committed as in the sheep entrusted to thy care" (*De Consid.* lib. iii, c 8, quoted by Father H. J. D. Ryder).

As to the False Decretals and their bearing upon the question before us, I shall say some words in a later chapter.

#### 4. Fourth Period A.D. 1500—1900.

Although this covers a period of four hundred years it is scarcely necessary to say many words, as the Apostolic See is conspicuous again throughout; and this in spite of the great upheaval of the Sixteenth Century.

And if my silence in this case argues not the absence but the superabundance of evidence, may not this possibly apply also to the evidence of the earliest days?

Meantime, to select one instance, it is known that the Society of Jesus, members of which were at that time to be found in France, Spain, Portugal and Italy, was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV. (1773), in consequence of overwhelming pressure on the part of the Ambassadors.

And so in our own times Pius IX. and Leo XIII. have severally occupied the position of the prominent person in the Church of their day

### SECTION V.—THE PETRINE TEXTS.

So far I have been calling attention to a phenomenon which appears on the face of the New Testament and subsequently also on the face of Church history; and the reality of that phenomenon will, I think, be acknowledged by all. It is a fact that our Lord by His own visible Presence was the prominent Person throughout the Gospels and that St. Peter, meantime, was growing into prominence at His side; it is a fact, too, that after our Lord's ascension St. Peter's position appears at once unique and conspicuous in the chapters composing the first half of the Acts; and it is also a fact that in the subsequent ages of Church history continuously up to the present moment, one person in the visible Church has shown in front of all others, and one See has been conspicuous above all the rest.

This may be described, so far, as a natural fact claim-

ing to take its place among other facts; and in it we may recognise an exhibition and illustration within the compass of Ecclesiastical history of a principle which is characteristic of universal human life.

As I shall go on to say in another chapter, power belongs to God, and is variously distributed to man; and this unequal distribution of power is found to be an abiding fact in our midst defying all attempts to reverse it. We are accustomed to say that if all the wealth of the world were to be redistributed equally to-day some would be found to possess more of it than others to-morrow; and the reason is that although we could make the gifts equal we could not make those equal to whom we gave them.

And in any work that we are undertaking the alternative before us is plain; either we must give up the use of human materials or we must frankly recognise their inequality. Now, in the case before us, the same God who made the materials is also making use of them; and the persons of the disciples with their various characteristic gifts, and the inequality which was the outcome of that variation, constituted the materials placed in our Lord's hands.

The words of His prayer are plain, "Keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me," Although it is true, then, to say that our Lord called upon all mankind to follow Him, it is also true that only special persons, and not any chance persons who might happen to pass that way, were singled out from the multitude and set apart for this work. Not because they were human beings merely, but because they were human beings with their own special gifts; for this reason it was that they were separated and set apart for the work.

This principle is recognised in other aspects of our Saviour's work; and we are accustomed to say of the inspired writers that they were selected because of what they respectively were, to do what they respectively did.



St. John could not have written St. Mark's Gospel nor St. Mark the Gospel of St. John. And so with the Apostolic work as a whole; the inequality as between St. Peter and the other Disciples belonged first to the universal Divine intention, and afterwards to the particular Divine plan. And, I repeat, it is scarcely too much to say that if the Visible Society had been destined to endure without a visible head some miraculous interposition on the part of our Saviour would have been found necessary at the outset. Let the case be carefully considered. If we are to be guided by the analogy of all human life, in launching the ship of the Visible Church upon the waters of this world our Lord would foresee that unless He set some one to stand at the helm at first with His sanction, some one would be found to take his stand there afterwards without it. Into this shape human nature will ever be found to throw itself when it comes out into action; and the presumption, therefore, is that our Lord would recognise this fact and give it the security of His own special stamp and seal,

In any case, the fact is before us; in the actual world of to-day the word "Rome" or "The Holy See" is odious to some and a symbol of hope to others; so also is the name of Peter in the Acts, the poor people even seeking the shelter of his shadow, on the one hand, and Herod placing him in prison because he saw that it pleased the Jews, on the other; and so once more is it with the name of our Lord in the Gospels; in the eyes of some He is truly the Son of God, while according to others He casts out devils by the prince of the devils. Explain the phenomenon how you will it is a commanding fact from first to last.

One person there is from the very outset who is an object of special aversion to some and of peculiar devotion to others, and one who is, therefore, in one way or another, a prominent object before the eyes of all.

## I.

I come now to the consideration of the famous texts and of the particular setting in which they find themselves. There are five principal moments in the history of our Lord's relations with St. Peter; and they appear as follows:—

- (1) The First Moment. “And when Jesus beheld him he said: Thou art Simon the son of Jona; thou shalt be called Cephas which is by interpretation a stone.”
- (2) The Second Moment. “To Simon He gave the name of Peter.”
- (3) The Third Moment. “But whom say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God.”  
 “And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my father which is in Heaven.”  
 “And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.”
- (4) The Fourth Moment. “Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat, but I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not, and when thou art converted strengthen thy brethren.”
- (5) The Fifth Moment. “When, therefore, they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter, Simon son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. He said unto him Feed my lambs.”

“He saith to him again the second time, Simon son of Jonas, lovest thou me? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my sheep.

He saith unto him the third time, Simon son of Jonas, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved because he said unto him the third time, Lovest thou me? And he said unto him, Lord thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus saith unto him. Feed my sheep.”

Let us now look more closely at each one of these passages.

## II.\*

1. “Thou art Simon, the Son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cephas which is by interpretation A Stone.”

(1) Our Lord has announced the purpose of His Ministerial life, “The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand;” and now the process of setting up this kingdom is to commence; and the first move is to be made.

The Apostle comes before our Lord and He at once promises and foretells for him a new name. Hitherto as an individual person he has been distinguished from others by the name of Simon; now as an individual disciple he will be more particularly distinguished from the rest by the name Peter.

Thus two principal distinctions appear to have marked the institution of our Lord’s visible kingdom: He distinguished the disciples as a whole from the rest of mankind, and he distinguished St. Peter in particular from the rest of the disciples.

Addressing the disciples as a whole he said: “Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but unto others in parables; and addressing

\* See *Allies St. Peter, His Name, His Office, and His See*; also Dollinger’s *First Age of the Church*.

St. Peter in particular: "Thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation A Stone."

Bossuet in his day and Döllinger in our own agree in recognising these two successive distinctions.

- (2) Here, then, it is the more particular distinction that we have to consider. And first it is to be remembered that names, as we see them given in the Bible, are significant. Thus in the Old Testament we have the names of Abraham, Sarah, Jacob, and Joshua; and in each case the name is intended to signify the special line of work that has been marked out by God for the one who is to bear it. "Thy name shall be called Abraham, for a father of many nations have I made thee."

And a parallel has been suggested between the call of Abraham and the call of Peter:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (1) Thy name shall be<br>Abraham.                        | (1) Thou shalt be called<br>Cephas.               |
| (2) For a father of many<br>nations have I made<br>thee. | (2) And upon this rock I<br>will build my church. |

According to this view of the case the Church of the Old Testament was set up in the person of Abraham and the Church of the New Testament in the person of Peter.

The Church under the old Covenant comprises the children of Abraham only; but under the new Covenant the kingdom of heaven is to be opened to all believers.

- (3) Now, this first step must be looked at in relation to our Lord Himself on the one hand and to the Church that He is beginning to build on the other; He transferred to St. Peter a description which had been already assigned, in prophecy, to Himself. Thus Isaiah: "Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone,

a sure foundation." And in allusion to this St. Paul writes: "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief Corner Stone."

The language of the Old Testament and the language of the New, the language of prophecy, and the language of fulfilment, thus combine to distinguish the Son of Man as the Stone.

Now in the passage before us (St. John i, 43) we have the name that is given to the disciple, and we have the interpretation of that name; both of them alike coming from the lips of our Saviour Himself.

The name is *Κηφας*; and the interpretation is *Πέτρος*; and in regard to the meaning of this word, Dr. Lightfoot, declares that "Cephas" means both stone and rock,—a fragment or a mass.

(4) Thus, as regards the first moment in our Lord's relations with St. Peter, the latter comes out into prominence, and is distinguished from the rest of the disciples, in consequence of our Lord's act and not because of any act of his own; he is distinguished from the others by the promise of a new name; and the value of that distinction appears in the parallel which it suggests to other distinctions in the Old Testament; to the association it establishes between the name of the disciple and the name of his Lord; and to the relation which it foretells between St. Peter himself and the rest of the Apostolic band.

### III.

2. "To Simon He gave the name of Peter."

Coming to the second year of our Lord's ministry we come also upon the formal fulfilment of His promise.

At this point of time, He distinguished the twelve apostles from the general crowd of followers who centred round him, and gave them authority to teach,

and power to heal sickness and to cast out devils; and in this connection, St. Mark says: "to Simon He gave the name of Peter;" and St. Matthew, "The names of the twelve apostles are these: the first, Simon, who is called Peter;" and St. Luke, "Simon, whom He also named Peter."

## IV.

3. "But whom say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God."

And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my father which is in Heaven.

And I say also unto thee, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven."

Now here the prominence of St. Peter comes out to view again: he shows in front of the rest.

(1) Our Lord addresses the whole band, "Whom say ye that I am?" And it is one of the band that answers: "Simon Peter answered and said

" . . . . .  
And the explanation of this prominence immediately follows: "My Father which is in Heaven hath revealed this unto thee, not flesh and blood."

That is, it was the Eternal Father in Heaven who distinguished St. Peter and not St. Peter who distinguished himself; and for this reason our Lord said he was to be considered as "Blessed." Thus, as all generations would subsequently call the Virgin Mary "Blessed" because the Eternal

Father had distinguished her from others and chosen her to be the mother of the highest, so St. Peter was at once described as "Blessed" because the Eternal Father had distinguished him from others and vouchsafed to him this special revelation of His Son.

- (2) Again, it will be observed that the two answers are set over against each other :

Simon Peter  
answered and said :  
"Thou art the Christ."

And Jesus answered  
and said :  
"Blessed art thou  
. . . ."

"Thou hast said unto me that I am the Christ, and I say unto thee that thou art Peter."

- (3) Now a portion of this promise was made to St. Peter as an individual, and a portion was afterwards made to St Peter and the other Apostles together. In order to bring this out I will follow Mr. Allies in setting these two in parallel columns :—

#### TO PETER.

#### TO THE APOSTLES.

- (1) "I say also unto thee,  
that thou art Peter, and  
upon this rock I will  
build my Church."  
(2) "And the gates of Hell  
shall not prevail against  
it."  
(3) "And I will give unto  
thee the Keys of the  
Kingdom of Heaven."  
(4) "And whatsoever thou  
shalt bind on earth shall  
be bound in Heaven,  
and whatsoever thou  
shalt loose on earth  
shall be loosed in  
Heaven."

"Verily I say unto you,  
whatsoever ye shall  
bind on earth shall be  
bound in Heaven, and  
whatsoever ye shall  
loose on earth shall be  
loosed in Heaven."

Thus if we glance from the one column to the other we shall see that the Apostles have nothing to show of a parallel nature until we come to the last of the four things that were promised to St. Peter. Only in the fourth and last case do we find a promise that was made first to Peter alone and afterwards to Peter and the other Apostles together.

Did our Lord say to any other Apostle "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock, etc.?" No.

Did our Lord say to any other Apostle "The gates of Hell shall not prevail. . . ." No.

Did our Lord say to any other Apostle "I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven?" No.

Then our Lord made some promises to Peter which He made to no one else; and St. Peter is prominent amongst the Apostles because he received more promises.

(4) We now have to ask what is the meaning of these promises; and first:—

"Thou art Peter (Petros),  
And upon this rock (Petra)  
I will build my Church."

I must put myself in this case under the guidance of scholars. Bishop Lightfoot tells us the Oriental word "Cephas," when turned into Greek, takes a masculine termination—*Petros*, when it is made a man's name, and that it would have been *Petra* if it had been applied to a woman. And Robert Wilberforce quotes a note from Grotius on this passage:—"The name of a man could not, according to the Greek usage, be expressed by the feminine *petra*, while the masculine *petros* did not commonly signify that which Christ wished to express, *i.e.*, such a stone as is commonly laid for a foundation." Wilberforce then goes on: "Whereas in Syriac, as appears at present from the *Peschito* version, the term in each member of the sentence is identical. Had St. Augustin, for instance, known that our Lord's words were 'Thou art Cepho, and on this Cepho I will build



my Church,' he would not have employed the argument he does in his *Retractions*."

Döllinger alludes to the passage thus: "The Greek translator of the Aramaic text was obliged to use *petros* and *petra*: in the original *Cephas* stood in each place without change of gender, Thou art stone, and on this stone, etc., *Cephas* being both name and title."

(5) Now when we come to the question of interpretation it is interesting to observe how variously one and the same passage may be understood by various minds. Dr. Hort and Dr. Lightfoot were both recognised as writers of great candour and learning; and each after standing opposite to this passage gives his own verdict upon it.

Dr. Hort says: "I believe the most obvious interpretation of this phrase is the true one, St. Peter himself yet not exclusively St. Peter, but the other disciples of whom he is the spokesman and interpreter, and should hereafter be the leader, was the rock which Christ had here in view."

Dr. Lightfoot: "It seems to me more strictly explained not of Peter himself, for then we shall expect *ἐπὶ σοί*, rather than *ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ*—but on this constancy, this firmness of thine, to which thy name bears witness, and which has just evinced itself in thy confession."

Dr. Lightfoot also differs from the former commentator on another point: "the words are directed," he says, "with all the force which repetition can give them to the person addressed. . . . It is said of Peter here; but it might be said, and is said, elsewhere of the other apostles."

And Döllinger teaches thus: "Our Lord wills to build His house, the imperishable Church, never to be overcome by the powers of death on the believing and confessing Simon, who again is to be its foundation in the same sense as all the apostles are according to Paul and

John, though excelling all others in his speciality as chief foundation stone.

- (6) It is important here to beware of false divisions, and not to assume that because one modern theologian adopts the interpretation of Peter's faith rather than of Peter's person, and another, the interpretation of Peter's person rather than of Peter's faith, the two are mutually exclusive and that we must therefore choose between them. They are not in fact antagonistic unless we make them so; but one may represent the primary and the other the secondary interpretation. And this is how they are understood by some modern as well as ancient interpreters of the passage. Such an attitude may be regarded as representing a strong Catholic principle.

Christ is the Priest, and yet we have ministerial priests on earth; Christ, again, is the Prophet or Teacher of mankind and yet we have earthly teachers; and so the fact that Christ is the King must not be allowed to exclude the notion also of earthly kings.

In each of these instances He stands alone, and the primary sense attaches to Him and to none other. But after the primary sense comes the sense that is secondary; and because Christ is the chief corner stone it does not therefore follow that Peter cannot be the chief foundation stone. So far as this view is true the question becomes one of adjustments and not of alternatives; of careful distinction between two degrees of interpretation and not of necessarily shutting out either.

Let us state it in the form of a question and then the danger of a false division will appear at once. Is Christ Himself the foundation of the Church or is the Church built upon the foundation of the Apostles and the Prophets? The answer here is, Upon both; upon Christ in the primary sense and upon the Apostles in a secondary sense.

And so again to propose the question whether the

Church was built upon all the Apostles or upon the Apostle Peter—may suggest a false division; since, *ex-hypothesi*, the Apostles are, every one of them, foundation stones, and of these foundation stones Peter is the chief.

The Apostles generally are not to be considered as another foundation nor is St. Peter to be so considered in particular.

On the whole, then, and from this point of view our Saviour is the true and ultimate foundation, in that primary sense which St. Paul has in his mind when he says: "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ;" and the Apostles supply the foundation in that secondary sense which St. Paul has in his mind when he says: "Built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets . . . ."

And so again St. Peter is to be recognised as a stone in a sense which distinguishes him from our Lord Himself on the one side and from the rest of the Apostles on the other.

This is the sense in which Father Ryder, for instance, in our own day and many of the Fathers in early times interpret the passage:—"It must be clearly understood," says the former, "that we in no wise reject the application of the 'Rock' to Christ or to faith in Christ. We maintain that such interpretation does not at all militate against its application directly to St. Peter; not indeed to his person but to his office. . . ." And so, again, if we turn back to the Fathers we find Origen saying, "See what is said by the Lord to that great foundation of the Church and most solid rock upon which Christ founded His Church." (In *Exod. Hom.* v, n. 4.) And St. Cyprian: "For neither did Peter whom the Lord chose as first and upon whom he built His Church, when Paul afterwards disputed with him about circumcision claim or assume anything insolently or arrogantly to himself; so as to say that he held the Primacy and should rather be obeyed of those late and newly

come." (Cyprian Ep. lxxi, 2.) And again: "There is one God and one Christ, and one Church, and one chair founded by the word of the Lord upon the Rock. Another altar cannot be set up. . . ." (Ep. xliii, 4.)

And St. Augustine speaks of Peter "holding the chief place in the Apostleship." (Serm. Matt. xvi, 22.) St. Jerome: "What is meant by the words And I say unto thee? Because thou hast said unto me, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God; and I say unto thee, not in idle or inoperative words, but I say unto thee, because my saying makes it an act, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church. As He Himself who is the light, gave to His apostles to be called the light of the world, and as they received their other names from the Lord; so to Simon who believed in the Rock, Christ gave the name of Peter, and by a metaphor drawn from a rock, it is appropriately said to him, I will build my Church upon thee."

And Pope Leo has a famous passage in one of his sermons: "While I am the inviolable Rock, the Corner Stone, who make both one, the foundation beside which no one can lay another; yet thou also art the rock, because by My virtue thou art established so as to enjoy by participation the properties which are peculiar to me." (Serm. iv, 2.)

The Fourth General Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451): "St. Peter is the Rock and foundation of the Catholic Church and the foundation of the Orthodox faith." (Act 3.)

(7) "And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

It is only necessary here to say that this promise is immediately related to what has preceded it. The gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church that is so built, viz; "upon this rock."

However we may be led to interpret our Lord's first words to St. Peter, it is plain that this Apostle was in a special sense and in a most impressive manner associated

with the foundation of the Church, and that the promise of protection against the gates of hell must be referred to this context and not separated from it.

(8) "I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven."

There is no doubt as to who the person is in this passage. Our Lord has keys in His own hands and He puts them into the hands of Peter; and these keys are the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Now the "Kingdom of Heaven" is a phrase which is used in various senses; sometimes it is represented as being within us, sometimes as without us; the idea of the Kingdom in the entire sense of the word being so vast that it is not easy to exhaust its several aspects; but in this place the context is suggestive.

St. Peter is one person, and there is no record of these words having been said to any other person in the New Testament; and the tense is future, implying that what our Lord was now saying was something that would afterwards be fulfilled. So far this further illustrates what I have said about the place and importance of plan in the context of our Lord's ministerial life.

In all His famous utterances He has His eye not merely upon the individual Apostles that stand before Him but also upon others who shall subsequently stand in their place; His eye rests not only upon the present but also and mainly upon the future. Thus He said, "Go ye into all the world," although every member of the little band would ere long have to yield up his place to another, and quit the scene of his labours. It was as though He were carefully sketching out the plan in the presence of His Apostles in the first instance, so that they might recognise the form and outline of the visible Kingdom in the shape of an idea before going on to carry it into execution. If I may reverently suggest a paraphrase it would run thus:—"I have said, the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand, and I am now going on to provide the principles of this Kingdom; some of

these will have to do primarily with conduct and some with order and government. And, first, I have some special words to say to you, Simon Peter; I have set a special mark upon you from the first, and I am now going on to explain it. You have been accustomed to think of me as the Stone or the Rock, and that, of course, is an abiding fact; but when you have understood that, I wish to assign a special place and function to you, and so to associate you in a particular sense with myself in this work. Your name will remind you of your office; next after me, but not apart from me, you are to be the chief foundation stone. And then, again, the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven I am going to leave in your hands. You will have understood here, again, that these Keys belong to myself and that you are responsible to Me for your use of them. I shall soon be leaving you, and it is expedient for you that I should go away, but everything must be rightly set in order first, and care must be taken that only those are admitted and allowed to remain within My Kingdom who are seeking to fulfil its duties; so I leave the Keys in your hand, the Keys of this Kingdom to handle and to use on earth." Döllinger's interpretation already alluded to is as follows: "The power of the Keys differs from the power of 'binding and loosing,' and extends over the whole Church, and passes to St. Peter's successors." The Kingdom of Heaven is a wide term indeed, but can it signify less, on the side on which it is visible to us here on earth, than the entire ecclesiastical situation that our Lord left behind him at His Ascension.

Our Lord Himself used the keys so long as He was visible here on earth, and He would hand them to Peter to use so long as he should remain here afterwards. This, I think, is the natural interpretation; and I agree with Mr. Everest in thinking that post Reformation writers betray some tendency to narrow it down and to explain it away. The unconscious bias of what has

now been a prolonged anti-Roman tradition is at work and dominates the mind; and this illustrates what I have elsewhere said upon the subject of contact, and the impossibility of continuing to agree with others unless we also walk with them.

A very general view of the separation in the sixteenth century is that it was political; but did men resent what was styled by some persons a foreign intrusion, because they deliberately rejected the Petrine texts or did they let these texts drift away from them because they resented a foreign intrusion. Men separate to-day on one plea and justify their separation to-morrow upon twenty. One traces this even in the case of so eminent a man and so candid a thinker as Dollinger. After his breach with the Holy See he was tempted to water down the words of his earlier interpretation, although in the event his sense of honour and his loyalty to what he believed to be truth was too much for him. "For a long time," he writes, "nothing was known in Rome of definite rights bequeathed by St. Peter to his successors. Nothing but a care for the weal of the Church and the duty of watching over the observance of the Canons was ascribed to them."

The question that will have to be faced as time goes on is as to what such general care for the weal of the Church comes to signify when the exigencies of events and the stress of attack put it seriously upon its defence. Meantime, let us suppose that some great personage was about to leave his mansion and the property that surrounded it, and let us suppose that before leaving he appointed one of his servants, a tried and trusted servant, to act as his steward during his absence. "All that you have to do is to keep an eye upon the whole place and see that the rules of the house are observed. I shall put the keys into your hands and you will know that you have my authority at your back." What more could he say short of constituting his servant the owner? To keep things as they are and to see that no one

meddles. If such an interpretation as this shall eventually prove to be the true interpretation of the infallibility of the Church, and I have great hopes that so it will be, we shall have caught the first clear glimpse of Reunion.

## V.

The modern Roman interpretation of these special gifts to St. Peter is as follows:—

- (a) Peter is the rock on which the Church is to be built by Christ, the chief Architect.
- (b) The impregnable strength which the Church was to have against the gates of hell, depended on its union with Peter, as the divinely laid foundation.
- (c) Peter is marked out by Christ the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, as next to Him and after Him, the bearer of the Keys in the Church's Heavenly Kingdom.
- (d) Therefore the universal power of binding and loosing is promised to him, leaving him responsible to Christ alone, the supreme lawgiver and judge.
- (9) "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

These words which are here said to Peter alone are elsewhere said to all the Apostles, Peter himself being with them; and they are generally understood to refer to "the discipline of the Church;" *e.g.*, "power to impose and take off penance, and to grant or withhold dispensations from the observance of Catholic customs of the Church, such as fasting in Lent . . . ."

## VI.

4. "Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat, but I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not, and when thou art converted strengthen thy brethren."



- (1) In this passage our Lord addresses Simon, although the subject of His address is not Simon merely, but all the Apostles; and His turning thus to the individual Apostle is the more striking inasmuch as He had immediately before been addressing all the Apostles together. Our Lord seems to say, "I look out upon you all and sorrow and anxiety fills my heart because I know that Satan has also fastened his eye upon you, and that he desires to have you; but this must not be, for you are mine. I have therefore prayed for thee, Simon, that thy faith may remain unshaken, and thou in thy turn must confirm thy brethren."

A parallel has again been suggested between these words, and the words in St. Matthew, thus:—

<p>"Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."</p>	<p>"But I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not; and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren."</p>
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- (2) Here, again, there is distinction and prominence; for our Lord not merely addresses Peter but places him, so far, over his brethren.

This appears to be the proper interpretation of the words. Let us picture a merely human situation, and say that a class of children is before us. If we turned to one of them and said, "My child, I see that all of you in this class are inclined to neglect your work and are under temptation to do wrong. This has made me anxious: but I have prayed for you that you may have strength to stand up against this temptation, and when you are thus strengthened you must also strengthen the others." You have not merely distinguished that child in your mind, but you have distinguished him also in his own, by placing him in a new relation to the rest. You pray for him and he consequently comes to have more power; you do not directly pray for them and they so far continue to have the same power. But it

does not end here, because you announce to him what you have done, and it will be impossible for him to resist the conclusion that in one way or another he is their superior. Thus this act on the part of our Lord also discovers the principle of which so much has already been said; I mean the proportion with which things come before us in the Gospels, and how, wherever many are to be held together as a society and therefore in the bond of unity, more power is given to one; that is, one emerges as the head. If I may reverently say it, it was not merely that our Lord took this step, but also it must have been the right step to take. He gives His sanction to the principle of headship when He deliberately takes the step of setting one disciple ahead of the rest.

However we regard it and describe it, our Saviour in this case gives more power to one than he does to the others, and such a measure of power is given to the one expressly that it may be used on behalf of the others. The meaning of "confirm" here is apparently to "fit something firmly together;" and the interpretation which sees in these words a charge to do for the brethren after our Lord was no longer visibly with them what He had Himself done when he was visibly with them, appears to be a natural interpretation; and our Saviour's words in St. John xvii certainly appear to look in this direction. "While I was with them in the world, I kept them in Thy name . . . but now I come to Thee."

## VII.

5. "When therefore they had dined Jesus said to Simon Peter, Simon son Jonas, lovest thou me more than these. . . . Feed my lambs. . . . Feed my sheep." The whole passage should be read, of course (St. John xxi, 1—19).

(1) The occasion was as follows: Seven disciples were together in a boat fishing, Peter, Thomas,

Nathanael and the Sons of Zebedee being among them. Our Lord appears on the shore, and bids them cast their net on the right side of their ship; they do so and a multitude of fishes are taken; when Peter hears it is the Lord he casts himself into the water and goes to him. They all come in answer to our Lord's invitation, and dine with him. It was the third time he had shown Himself to his disciples after his resurrection.

After dinner with the seven disciples there before Him He turns to Simon Peter and addresses him in the words of this passage.

- (2) Here again we come upon a distinction and a prominence. It is not merely that our Lord speaks to Simon as distinguished from the others and so brings him to the front in his own eyes and also in theirs; but in His words to the other Apostles we find no parallel to what He here says to Peter.

St. Peter we know had denied our Lord three times, and on this occasion he is solemnly asked three several times whether he loves Him. It is natural, then, that the one incident should recall the other, and they may have been intended, in our Lord's mind, so to do; but is this by itself an adequate explanation of the passage. "Shepherd" is a title ascribed to Almighty God in the Old Testament; "O thou Shepherd of Israel, thou that leadest Joseph like a sheep. . . ."

And what is ascribed in its primary sense to Almighty God is applied in a secondary sense to human leaders also.

David, who is set over the people is called a shepherd; and the office in this case was found to involve the three functions of ruling, feeding and defending. And when we come to the New Testament the title is expressly appropriated by our Lord to Himself. "I am the good Shepherd." And if at the end of His ministerial life

our Lord turns to a disciple whom He has so frequently and so solemnly distinguished before, and bids him feed His lambs and feed His sheep; be a Shepherd to His sheep; is it not natural to interpret this of all our Lord's people and to infer that in some special sense Peter was himself to carry on our Lord's own work?

It has to be remembered that even in the last situation before our Lord's death, although Peter had failed, still he had not fled; and so far he had outstripped in a very marked degree the rest of the apostolic band. One would almost expect then, that they would have been severely rebuked in the first instance, and that some smaller measure of rebuke would have been administered to Peter afterwards; that is if Peter's fall had supplied the sole motive for this utterance.

- (3) St. Ambrose interprets the passages thus: "The Lord does not doubt, but asks not to learn but to teach him whom on the point of ascending into Heaven He was leaving as it were the successor and representative of His love. It is because he alone out of all makes a profession that he is preferred to all. Lastly for the third time the Lord asks him no longer hast thou a regard (*diligis*) for Me, but lovest (*Amas*) thou Me; and now he is ordered to feed not the lambs as at first, who need a milk diet, nor the little sheep as secondly, but the more perfect sheep in order that he who was the more perfect might have the government." And St. Chrysostom says: "He was the chosen of the apostles, and the mouthpiece of the disciples, and the head of the band. Therefore also Paul once went up to see him rather than the rest. . . . He puts into his hands the presidency over the brethren. . . . He made great promises and put the world into his hands. . . . But if anyone asks, How then did James receive the throne of Jerusalem? I would reply that

He elected Peter not to be the teacher of this throne, but of the whole world."

Pope Leo (461): "Though there be among the people of God many priests and many shepherds, yet Peter rules all by immediate commission whom Christ also rules by sovereign power."

#### SECTION VI.—THE DISPUTE.

I have also said that if the Visible Society of the Church had been destined to endure without a visible head some express words, and even some miraculous interposition on our Lord's part, would have been necessary, and now I have to ask whether there is any record of such an act or of such words? And this brings us to another passage which is related to the Petrine texts, although it does not immediately belong to them; and this passage, again, has shared the fate of the others.

1. St. Matthew xvii, 24—xviii, 5. The occasion was as follows:—

- (1) Our Lord and His disciples had come to Capernaum, and the officers who were in the habit of collecting the tribute money, which was due to the Temple from all the children of Israel, come to Peter with these words: "Doth not your Master pay tribute?" Here, again, "your" is in the plural, and therefore refers to the whole body of disciples; and yet it is addressed to St. Peter. Does not this prove not merely that Peter may have shown in front of the rest by his own acts, not merely that our Lord may have intended him to do so, but also that those who looked on from outside so recognised him. They felt that he of all the disciples was the one to appeal to.

- (2) Our Lord then goes on to ask the question "Of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute? Of their own children or of strangers?" Peter saith unto Him, "Of strangers." Jesus saith unto him "Then are the children free." This apparently meant that since our Lord was the Son of God, the Son of Him who was the Lord of the Temple, no tribute was really due from our Saviour, seeing that He was not a stranger but the child. But in order to avoid scandal He bids Peter go to the sea and he will find in the mouth of the first fish that comes up a piece of money. This he is to take and to give them—"for Me and thee."
- (3) The next words are: "At the same time came the Disciples unto Jesus saying, 'Who is the greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven?'"

"At the same time"—thus this question lies close against the incident of the piece of money and the manner in which our Lord had associated Peter with Himself, and thereby again conferred upon him a distinction. And Origen connects the two in his explanation of the passage. The disciples, he says, considered it a very great honour that had been done to Peter, in having thus put him higher than the others, and they suspected that Peter was intended to be above them. Hence this question "Which is the greatest . . .?" And St. Chrysostom says that it was the modesty of Peter that induced him to shut out this incident from the Gospel of his disciple Mark.

He also agrees with Origen's interpretation, but goes on to explain that the other apostles were ashamed to say plainly Why is Peter preferred to us? But they propose the question in an indefinite form, "Who is the greater?" And the same writer goes on to refer to the other occasions on which Peter was distinguished, pointing out that they would all come back to the apostles' minds in connexion with the particular incident before them.

2. Our Lord's answer gives no satisfaction to them, but is addressed as so many of His replies are to the fundamental thought or temper that lay behind their question.

It was jealousy that prompted the interrogation, a desire not to have anyone over their heads. That was what required an answer; the apparent question being a matter that concerned our Lord Himself. Just as on another occasion when the disciples asked, Are there few that be saved? our Lord's answer was "Strive to enter in at the strait gate;" this first, and not until the end of the statement, the words which satisfied their curiosity, as if our Lord would say "Put all your energy into the effort to enter in"—that is the great point.

And so in the passage before us. He does not say "There will be no visible head in My kingdom," or "You are not to suppose that Peter is in any serious sense the greater." Not this, but a description of the character of any one who was to be the greatest.

4. The dispute comes up again, even at the Last Supper, showing how powerful this characteristic is and how it is ever asserting itself. (St. Luke xxii, 24—31.) In this instance our Lord's answer is very striking. This was the third occasion on which the dispute had arisen; and His answer may be best set down thus:

- (a) "The Kings of the Gentiles"
- (b) "Lord it over them."
- (c) "And they that exercise authority upon them  
are called benefactors,"
- (d) "But ye shall not be so."
  
- (a) "He that is greatest among you"
- (b) "Let him be as the younger,"
- (c) "And he that is chief"
- (d) "As he that doth serve."

- (a) "For whether is greater,
- (b) "He that sitteth at meat
- (c) "Or he that serveth.
- "I am among you as He that serveth."
- "Ye are they which have continued with Me in my temptations."
- (a) "I appoint unto you a kingdom
- (b) "As my Father hath appointed unto me,
- (c) "That ye may eat and drink at my table
- (d) "And sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel."

St. Peter evidently has this admonition in his mind when he says: "Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but as being an ensample to his flock." A passage which if it is to be accounted fatal to headship over the Church as a whole might be urged equally against Episcopal power in any shape.

Meantime, I have set out the passages in this form in order that we may see how the various parts of it lie.

(1) Some parallels may be proposed.

- (a) The Kings of the Gentiles: He that is greatest: He that sitteth at meat.
- (b) He that is younger: He that doth serve.
- (c) My Father hath appointed a kingdom unto me: I appoint a kingdom unto you.
- (d) The chief among the Apostles: The greatest.

(2) What we see when we look out into the world is: Kings; men in authority.

That is the starting point; and our Lord does not quarrel with it. He does not say, there are men in the world who occupy the position of chiefs; but such a position in itself is contrary to the will of God.

It is not the fact of authority being exercised; but the way in which it is exercised that our Lord is attacking.

"The Kings of the Gentiles exercise authority, of



course; but have you observed the way in which they exercise it. They obtrude themselves in the act of exercising their authority; so much so that their subjects come to look up to them and to speak of them as benefactors."

"But with you who are my Apostles it must not be so. Here again there is the chief, but he must keep himself in the background, and exercise his authority as though he were a servant. That is how it is with me: I am your Lord and Master; and yet I wash your feet, and am as though I were your servant."

If we would see how carefully the Apostles cultivated this spirit we may recognise it not merely in the passage I have quoted from St. Peter, but in a very marked degree in the language of St. Paul's letter to Philemon.

In writing to the Galatians the Apostle asserts his authority because it is necessary to do so; but to Philemon he writes: "Though I might be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee that which is convenient. Yet for love's sake I rather beseech thee. . . ."

How could this rule be of any avail with the Apostles if, owing to their state of absolute equality, it was impossible for them to apply it.

On the whole, then, we may state the case thus:—

It is the Society of Christ that is before us; and, therefore, as must necessarily be, the question of Government is before the mind of that Society; and our Lord steps forward to interpret the situation."

"Unless you are warned beforehand you will be tempted to exercise authority in the same haughty and superior manner that you will see others doing about you. You are going out among the Gentiles; and the danger is lest you should catch their spirit and adopt their tone.

No, the Kingdom of Heaven has been before you for some little time, and although you know I am your Master, you know also that I behave with all the humility of a servant, and wish you to do the same; with

yourselves also it must be so; the chief must be as though he were but a servant."

It will, I think, be allowed that this is a momentous passage; and is it possible, after contemplating it, to infer that our Lord set His face against the institution of a visible head?

Do we come away from it saying, "You see how clear our Lord made it that there was to be no visible head," or do we say: "You see from these words what manner of man the chief must be?"

Is it "Our Saviour, of course, had a Kingdom disposed to Him; but no Kingdom was disposed to the Apostles?" Or is it: "My Father disposed to me a Kingdom, and you see how I exercise authority; and I now dispose to you a Kingdom, and you must do likewise?"

Is not this dispute among the disciples a type of thousands of other disputes; and are not they all resolved in one and the same way?

## SECTION VII.—THE CHAIR OF PETER.

So far we have made some attempt to view this question from the Catholic standpoint, to clear the atmosphere of prejudice, and to place ourselves more distinctly in line with the rest of our brethren in the west.

In all societies Unity is found to require the prominence of one, and such an one, by whatever title we may distinguish him, does in fact supply a visible centre to those who are associated with himself.

Since, then, it was part of our Lord's plan to form a visible society on earth, and since He allowed us to know that the Unity of that Society was the desire that lay nearest to His heart, it is natural to expect that He would provide means which should prove themselves adequate to that end; and furthermore that such means

would follow in the line of an otherwise universal law unless some special divine interposition should intervene to prevent them.

Now there is no record in the New Testament of such a divine interposition ; on the contrary there are various and distinct lines of evidence which appear to coincide with our anticipations. The Society in the first instance, is marked off distinctly from the rest of the world, and a clear distinction is observed, in the second instance, in the person of St. Peter.

Again, in the first instance, the Society is found to group itself around the visible person of our Lord ; and in the second instance, around the visible person of St. Peter.

In the chapters composing the first half of the Acts of the Apostles where St. Luke "is recording the common exertions of all the Apostles in building up the Church," the narrative may be said to resolve itself almost into the "Acts of St. Peter," since it is he who is prominent throughout ; assuming the lead apparently as a matter of course in every great situation, and suggesting the inference that after our Lord's Ascension this distinguished Apostle was intended to stand "to the eleven in an analogous position to that held by our Lord, so long as He was visible, towards the whole College." Thus we read of "Peter, standing up with the eleven ;" and, again, "They said to Peter and the rest of the Apostles ;" or, again, it is "Peter and those that were with him ;" and whereas other Apostles seem to have visited only those churches to which they had preached in the first instance, Peter's visitation appears to have extended throughout all. "Like a general," writes St. Chrysostom, "he went round surveying the ranks, seeing what portion was well massed together, what in order, what needed his presence. Behold him making his rounds in every direction."

Thus : "Then had the Churches rest throughout all Judæa and Galilee and Samaria, and were edified ; and

walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied. And it came to pass as Peter passed throughout all quarters. . . .”

And whereas the Church of the New Testament comes before us, in the first instance, as the Church of the Circumcision and the Gentile Church is grafted upon it in order to coincide with it, making of both one, it is St. Peter who is at the head of that one; St. Paul sharing with him, though in a subordinate position, the glory of founding the central church of the Gentile world.

So far, then, the natural inference is that the momentous words of our Lord, addressed to St. Peter and not to others, provide us with the proper explanation of St. Peter's distinction from the others; in other words, that this distinguished Apostle was head of the Apostolic College because our Lord intended him to be so.

## I.

Now this phenomenon of prominence is not confined to the pages of the bible but is equally conspicuous afterwards in the subsequent pages of Church history; there being in this latter instance, from first to last, one conspicuous personage and one conspicuous See.

That the Roman See has been thus conspicuous from the first is a fact which requires no language to prove it; it appears on the face of Church history; the epistle to the Romans witnesses to it within the bible and all experience testifies to it outside. And the question of this prominence has a special interest for ourselves since the Church of England is herself a daughter of the Roman Church, and her parochial system more particularly is to be traced to Theodore who was sent to this country by Vitalian, the Bishop of Rome.

Is there any historical connection, then, between the personage who is prominent within the bible and the See which appears to be continuously prominent outside it? In the natural order of God's providence Rome

appears before us as the mistress of the civilised world and the visible centre of a universal empire.

This phenomenon cannot be regarded as an accident ; and since the "fulness of time" discovers to us this proportion in the distribution of power it seems natural to infer that the universal empire was intended to pave the way and to provide the framework for the universal church.

The eyes of the apostles would be directed to that visible centre at once ; such an impulse would be inevitable, but it does not therefore follow that Christians in Rome would be superior in character to other Christians.

The Edict of Toleration was not published until A.D. 312, and the exiled Christians were not recalled until 324. At that point of time history speaks of Rome as "the chief stronghold of heathenism," and of Byzantium, the new capital as being destined to present to the world the spectacle of a city that was wholly Christian.

As time advanced, and especially after the conversion of the Empire in the fourth century, the glory of the Civil and the glory of the Ecclesiastical order would be found, of course, to act and to re-act one upon the other ; and the history of such Sees as London, Winchester, and Durham, among ourselves, may serve to illustrate this. But the question before us is a question of fact, and we have to ask ourselves whether the See of Rome was glorious merely because it had its centre in the city of Rome, or mainly because it was the See of Peter.

Upon this point Mr. Everest speaks with earnestness but not without caution when he says, "I think it may be asked with some degree of confidence whether one single instance of a Roman Bishop can be found who claimed his unique position in Christendom, and the privileges attaching to it, whatever they might be, on any other ground than that he sat by inheritance in the chair of St. Peter." With our eyes, then, upon those early centuries of the Church which are understood to

fall within the range of the Rule of Faith we have to enquire what particular evidence they provide upon this point.

St. Irenæus (A.D. 202), as we have seen, speaks of "the tradition," which the Church that is at Rome "had so recently received from the apostles," in allusion to Clement's letter (A.D. 96). And it is admitted by all that at least for the first four centuries Rome was faithful to those traditions; and the same writer in a famous passage declares that "as it would be very long to enumerate in such a volume as this the succession of all the churches; pointing out that tradition, which the greatest and most ancient and universally known church constituted at Rome by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul, derives from the apostles, and that faith announced to all men which through the succession of the Bishops had come down to us, we confound all those who in any way through caprice or vainglory, or blindness or perverse opinion gather other than it behoveth. For with this Church on account of her supremacy, it is necessary that every Church, that is, the faithful everywhere should be in communion in which Church has ever been preserved by the faithful everywhere, that tradition which is from the apostles." The precise meaning of "Princeps" and "Principalis" must be reserved for scholars to decide. Meantime, I may call attention to an interesting discussion, brief though it necessarily is, in a review of Father Puller's *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome* which appeared in the *Church Times* of October 19th, 1900 (p. 427). There the reviewer alludes to the rendering of Duchesne, who translates the words *principalis ecclesia* into—*l'église souveraine*; and agrees with Father Puller in rejecting it but differs with him as to the grounds upon which he rejects it.

In his third edition of the *Primitive Saints* the author joins himself to the noble army of martyrs who have not merely changed their minds but who have also had

the candour to say so. Such writers, whatever their views on the question as a whole, must ever be regarded as the fast friends of the cause of Reunion.

Father Puller's latest attitude appears thus. He formerly referred the *potentior principalitas* of Irenaeus to the imperial dignity of the City; he now understands it to mean the *primatial* position of the Church of Rome. This naturally induces him to consider very attentively the precise meaning and nature of this *principalitas*, and he finds himself in agreement on this point with the late Archbishop of Canterbury.

St. Cyprian comes upon the scene, we know, not long after Irenaeus, and therefore the *principalis ecclesia* of the former is naturally examined in connection with the *potentior principalitas* of the latter.

Dr. Benson goes so far as to say that the sense (*l'église souveraine*) "was not included, implied, or allowed, in the term." The reviewer considers this "too much to say;" and for his own part he allows the force of the word *principalis* when looked at merely in itself, but then he thinks it should not be looked at merely in itself but referred rather to the entire context of St. Cyprian's life and mind; a comment of which everyone will recognise the justice.

As regards the word "princeps" the reviewer points out, that "as Tacitus shrewdly hints, it meant exactly the same as *rex* or *dictator*, and"—although Augustus had chosen that title just because it was colourless, "it was not long in acquiring, for popular usage, the fulness of its real meaning." Again, later on, the reviewer writes, "It is hardly too much to say that if St. Cyprian had held the theory of Papal Monarchy, the phrase *ecclesia principalis* would naturally be used by him in the sense given to it by Duchesne. We reject the rendering," the reviewer goes on, "not on philological grounds, but because the known acts and opinions of the Saint prove that he did not hold that theory or use the word in that sense." The reviewer then goes on to say that in the

case of Irenaeus, "potentior" as a comparative proves that "principalitas" in that connection "means not an unique supremacy residing in the Roman Church, but a dignity common to many Churches among which Rome took the lead." This I understand to be the view sometimes described as *Primus inter pares*. For myself I must acknowledge that if I were anxious for another person not to rule over me I should not feel sure of securing my rights so long as he was allowed to be described as *Primus*, even though I might myself be known as *Par*.

I speak with all respect when I suggest how extremely difficult it appears to preserve this relation in the case of our own or of any other Episcopate; but the point upon which we have to press is the distinction in the claim of the *Primus*. Was the claim of the *Primus* of the same nature as the claim of the *Pares*? Or was it altogether different? Did the *Primus* say, "I am *Primus* because I am bishop in the Imperial City" or—"I am *Primus* because I am sitting in Peter's chair?" As regards the degree of authority exercised by the *Primus* in this case we have to remember the pressure from behind of the whole weight of Petrine texts and the atmosphere of the entire New Testament situation by which they are supported, and which brings them to bear upon the question. If the bishop of Rome in attempting, as every earnest man must attempt, to realise his full measure of responsibility was controlled merely by the double thought "What ought I to do as a bishop, and moreover as a bishop in the Imperial City?" the Petrine texts may not have vexed his conscience overmuch; but if a third consideration had to be reckoned with, thus: "What ought I to do as the successor of St. Peter and as a bishop ruling from within the Imperial City?"—then all experience goes to show that there would be a constant recurrence to the texts in question and to the tradition handed down to the bishop from those who went before. All experience serves to suggest that, as the scope of the Church's work



widened, all manner of difficult and delicate adjustments in the distribution of power would become necessary; that numberless frictions would arise in the process; and that in attempting to justify their action men would persuade themselves at least, and attempt to persuade others also that they had divine sanction to support each several step they allowed themselves to take. This applies to the whole circumference of the question. Actual human nature would be at work everywhere and everywhere it would assert itself.

Constantinople, for instance, became a new centre and soon gained prestige and position; the question would then present itself—How to promote and advance this position. It would then fall back upon its resources; and the utmost it could say would be that it was the New Rome, and jealousy would certainly arise between itself and old Rome. It would be natural, too, in face of the rapidly developing power or extravagant claims, if you will, of the Holy See that the New Rome should close one eye and view the Roman claims only with the other; should lay stress, that is, upon what may be described as the argument from the Imperial City and say little as to the argument from the Apostolic See.

This is what appears to have happened at Chalcedon (451). At this point of time Leo is seated on the Apostolic throne, and being a man of strong and deep character we find him examining Petrine texts minutely, expounding them magisterially, and making full proof of his ministerial position in every direction.

But Constantinople is anxious to advance also, and perhaps "Eastern bishops secretly felt that the cause of Constantinople was theirs;" and perhaps also the Emperor Marcian was anxious "to advance New Rome" and ready therefore to support the Council of Chalcedon in any attempt it might make to withstand the claims of Leo, so the Council in the event settles itself down into soberness and frames a conscientious canon, as if it

would say to its elder sister "We are both great are we not"—for we seldom praise others without contriving that a little of our praise may react upon ourselves—"We are both great; and both for the same reason; with this distinction only that you have a larger measure of that reason than I." The "Fathers had always given Rome the first place because Rome was the Royal City. And with the same object, the Second Œcumenical Council of Constantinople assigned equal dignity to the city of New Rome." So runs the Canon. But what does Leo I say to this? "He calls to mind with indignation the grounds on which Constantinople had received these privileges as being the second city of the Empire: 'as if the Primacy of Rome was the result of her being the Capital City of the West, and not the See of St. Peter.'" "The basis of the divine arrangements is not that of the Secular State."

And what does Leo XIII say to-day: "The 28th canon of the Council of Chalcedon, by the very fact that it lacks the assent and approval of the Apostolic See, is admitted by all to be worthless." Nevertheless, we have seen that the same Council in addressing Leo says that "to him the custody of the vineyard had been committed by the Saviour."

And how this concerns the Church of England appears not merely in her later relations with the Apostolic See but also in the fact that this Council is one of the General Councils that are received by her.

## II.

There were disputes among the Apostles, as we have already seen, as to which should be the greatest, and yet it is not difficult to see that St. Peter did, in fact occupy that position; and so from such an illustration as I have adduced from the Council of Chalcedon, it is not difficult to discern the prominent Bishop, however jealous others may be of his power, or however much he

may be tempted to make an extravagant use of it. The proportion is preserved; and proportion is the leading thought of this Essay from first to last. Let it be understood that I am not here attempting to measure the power of the Pontiffs; all that I have to do is to illustrate my argument that the Church of God has never been without its prominent personage, and that that personage has justified and accounted for his prominence by claiming to be a successor of St. Peter.

St. Cyprian (A.D. 250), as we have seen, refers to the Roman See as "the See of Peter and the principal Church, whence the unity of the priesthood took its rise. . . . Whose faith has been commended by the Apostles, to whom faithlessness can have no access."

And so, again, St. Julius, Bishop of Rome (A.D. 337—352), in the course of blaming the Eusebian party for acting on their own responsibility, addresses them thus: "For what we have received from the blessed Apostle Peter, that I signify to you; and I should not have written this as deeming that these things are manifest unto all men, had not these proceedings so disturbed us." The Eusebians had taken action in reference to Athanasius, and then came afterwards to Julius for his approval. This he described as "another form of procedure, a novel practice."

Pope Damasus (A.D. 366—384), in a letter which he wrote to the Eastern Bishops against Apollinaris, addresses them thus: "In that your charity pays the due reverence to the Apostolical See ye profit yourselves the most, most honoured sons, for if, placed as we are in that Holy Church in which the Holy Apostle sat and taught, how it becometh us to direct the helm to which we have succeeded, we nevertheless confess ourselves unequal to that honour; yet do we therefore study as we may, if so be we may be able to attain to the glory of his blessedness."

And the famous passage from St. Jerome to this Pope so far corroborates his own claim: "I speak with

the successor of the fisherman and the disciple of the Cross. I, following no one as my chief but Christ, am associated in communion with thy blessedness, that is, with the See of Peter. I know that on that rock the Church is built." Ambrosiaster, a Pelagian in doctrine, describes the Church as "God's house, whose ruler at this time is Damasus and St. Basil entreats St. Damasus to send persons to arbitrate between the Churches of Asia Minor, or at least to make a report on the authors of their troubles and name the party with which the Pope should hold Communion." "We are in no wise asking anything new," he proceeds, "but what was customary with blessed and religious men of former times, and especially with yourself. For we know, by tradition of our fathers of whom we have enquired, and from the information of writings still preserved among us, that Dionysius, that most blessed Bishop, while he was eminent among you for orthodoxy and other virtues, sent letters of visitation to our Church at Cæsarea, and of consolation to our fathers, with ransomers of our brethren from captivity." St. Siricius, Bishop of Rome (A.D. 384—398), writes: "We bear the burden of all who are laden; yea, rather the blessed apostle Peter beareth them in us, who, as we trust in all things protects and defends us the heirs of his government." And St. Optatus, addressing the Donatist, Parmenian: "You cannot deny your knowledge that in the City of Rome on Peter first hath an episcopal See been conferred, in which Peter sat, the head of all the apostles. . . . in which one See Unity might be preserved by all, lest the other apostles should support their respective Sees, in order that he might be at once a schismatic and a sinner, who against that one See (*Singularem*) placed a second. Therefore that one See (*Unicam*), which is the first of the Church's prerogatives, Peter filled first; to whom succeeded Linus" (he then names subsequent Popes) "to Damasus, Siricius who at this day is associated with us (*Socius*), together with

M

whom the whole world is in accordance with us, in the one bond of Communion by the intercourse of letters of peace."

St. Innocent, Bishop of Rome (A.D. 417), "Diligently and congruously do ye consult the arcana of the Apostolical dignity" (this, to the Council of Milevis) "the dignity of him on whom, beside those things which are without, fall the care of all the Churches; following the form of the ancient rule, which you know as well as I, has been preserved always by the whole world."

And St. Augustine characterises Innocent's procedure as being "religious and becoming in the Bishop of the Apostolic See."

Pope St. Celestine (A.D. 425) addresses the Illyrian Bishops: "We have especial anxiety about all persons on whom, in the Holy Apostle Peter, Christ conferred the necessity of making all men our care, when He gave him the Keys of opening and shutting."

And St. Prosper, at the same time calls Rome "the Seat of Peter, which being made to the world the head of pastoral honour, possesses by religion what it does not possess by arms;" and Vincent of Lerins describes the Pope as "the head of the world."

One more quotation I will give from Pusey's *Eirenicon* (published in 1869). He quotes from Act iv, col. 1362 of the Council of Chalcedon and the following words are an exact transcript from page 262.—

"The Roman legates first state,—

"This holy and most blessed Synod follows and holds the rule of faith which was fixed at Nice by the Fathers; and, moreover, the Synod of the 150 gathered at Constantinople under the elder Theodosius of blessed memory confirmed that same faith; the exposition of which creed, set forth at Ephesus by Cyril of blessed memory when Nestorius was for his craft condemned, it in like way embraceth. Thirdly, the writings of the most blessed and Apostolic man, Leo,

Pope of the Universal Church, who condemneth the heresy of Nestorius and Eutyches, have explained what the true faith hath. In like way also this holy Synod too holdeth and followeth this faith; nor can it add and diminish aught besides."

Going on to comment on the above words, Pusey writes: "On this, when translated into Greek, followed the acclamations, 'We all thus believe; so baptize we; so have we believed, so believe we.'"

Now, the title "Pope" was, of course, applied in early times to other bishops besides the bishop of Rome, and I am not sufficiently learned to say what the proper significance of the above reference is: "Leo, Pope of the Universal Church." But apart from that, if we compare this situation with the Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv) do we not perceive some parallel between the formal statement in each case and the manner in which it is appealed to as supplying the basis of the formal decision. In the one case Peter lays down a statement, and James appeals to it and quotes it, and "therefore" gives his vote accordingly; in the other the writings of Leo are understood to "explain what the true faith hath;" and "in like way also this holy Synod, etc."

The question was then formally put (at Chalcedon) by the judges and senate, and in the course of their statement each of the Bishops present is to teach whether the exposition of the fathers at Nice, and of the one hundred and fifty afterwards assembled in the royal city, "agrees with the faith of the most reverend Archbishop Leo."

Now Bossuet in arguing against the ultramontane position calls special attention to the reason why the Epistle of Leo was adopted. It was because the Epistle agreed with the Symbol of Nice. Let this be accepted so then; the Epistle was assented to because it agreed with the Council and not because it emanated from Leo; but when you find the same Council speaking of Leo as

the "Guardian of the Vine" is it not natural to place the two passages side by side and to recognise in the formal attitude of the Church at that moment a sanction for acknowledging a visible head in the subsequent ages of the Church? Especially when we take all this in conjunction with Leo's statements about himself and his office. But in any case, if the statements of Bossuet and Mgr. Maret concur in teaching, as the outcome of their investigations, that in the fifth century the Council was evidently considered able "to enlighten the Pope, and that the union and unity of the Episcopate and the Holy See may be established by the deference of the Pope towards the Bishops, as well as by that of the Bishops towards the Pope;" if this be so, nevertheless, they also plainly concur in assigning to the Bishop of the Apostolic See a position which no other Bishop of the Church can be understood to have; and, so far, that is all I am here maintaining. And since the Council of Chalcedon is acknowledged by the Anglican Church, and since part of the formal basis of her teaching is the sanction of primitive times must not a true Anglican be also in some sense Roman? Let the case be carefully considered in the parallel form again:—

## 1.

Leo I, in one of his sermons, says: "Christ willed that the sacred gift (the spreading of the Gospel) should belong to the office of all the Apostles only so far as is consistent with His having endowed the blessed Peter, the chief of all the Apostles, with it in a supreme manner . . . ." (I omit the further development which he gives to the above)

## 2

The Council of Chalcedon.

Dr. Bright says: "The Synodical letter to Leo addressed him in terms of deep respect as the head or president of the Council, presiding by deputy, and the appointed guardian of the vine."

Now I understand, of course, how important it is to read passages within their context and not merely outside it—and wherever it is possible such passages as I have quoted should be so read; but here is a complete statement from the pen of Canon Bright, and if we examine the contents of it fairly and justly what will it be found to yield?

Leo is addressed in a formal Synodical letter in terms of deep respect as the Head or President of the Council, and is described as the “Guardian of the Vine.”

The Vine: The whole visible Church.

The Guardian: The one who takes care of that Church.

And the total inference is that the Bishop of Rome at that time (Leo by name) is understood to be the one who takes care of the whole Church.

He is the prominent person.

#### IV.

I will now add a few further passages:

1. Origen (A.D. 185—255).
- (1) “See what is said by the Lord to that great foundation of the Church, and to that most solid Rock, upon which Christ founded the Church.”—(In Exod. Hom V.n. 4).
- (2) “When the chief authority, as regards the feeding of the Sheep was delivered to Peter, and on him, as on the earth, the Church was founded; of no other virtue was the confession required than that of love.”—(Com. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. V.n. 10; Tom. xiv.)
2. Cyprian (A.D. 200—258).
- (1) “For first to Peter, upon whom He built the Church and from whom He appointed and showed that Unity should spring, the Lord gave this power that that should be loosed in Heaven which he had loosed upon earth. And after



the resurrection also He speaks to the apostles saying: "As my father hath sent me, even so I send you."—Ep. lxxiii., 7.

- (3) "There is one Church and one chair founded by the voice of the Lord upon a rock."—Ep. xliii., 4.

Again as quoted in another place:

- (4) "The Chair of Peter and the principal Church, whence the Unity of the priesthood took its rise . . . . to which faithlessness cannot have access."—Ep. lix., 18.
- (5) "For not even did Peter whom the Lord chose the first and upon whom He built His Church, when Paul afterwards disputed with him respecting circumcision, claim anything to himself insolently, or assume anything arrogantly, so as to say he held the Primacy, and that obedience ought rather to be paid to him by those who were novices and had come after him.—Ep. lxxi., 2.

3. St. Augustine.

"For not without cause among all the apostles doth Peter sustain the Person of this Church Catholic; for unto this Church were the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven given, when they were given unto Peter, and when it is said unto him it is said unto all "Lovest thou me? Feed my sheep."

V.

Now it is understood, of course, that almost any ecclesiastical position can be proved either from the text of Scripture or from the writings of the Fathers by a judicious selection of passages; but, so far, my aim throughout is only to make some contribution in the shape of materials for discussion. I think it will be allowed that in most, if not in all instances, the statements I have adduced constitute complete statements for the purpose for which I have adduced them. I have

not allowed myself to quote any words about which there has been dispute as to their genuineness. The false ever seems to shadow the true; false miracles follow in the wake of those that are true; and so false readings or interpolations are found alongside of those that are genuine. And certainly it is possible on either side of any question to gather out of many various sources and to bring together into one place passages which are calculated to mislead just because they are so collected.

What appears to me so necessary just now is that we should make some attempt to fall into line with the majority of the Western Church in the matter of interpretation, otherwise it will be possible for any of us to prove almost any position and to keep our own portion of the mystical body of Christ in a state of perpetual unrest and isolation.

We have seen, for instance, that some fathers may dwell more upon the faith of Peter than upon his person; and yet that others, will so dwell upon both as to suggest an adjustment rather than to present an alternative. This is the constructive method and therefore so far congenial to that atmosphere of unification which is understood to be a characteristic of our time.

I think St. Augustine's position may be identified with this. An allusion has been made elsewhere to his *Retractations*, especially in relation to the Petrine texts; but in spite of this he appears always to see the visible Church with those proportions upon it that I have indicated. In his eyes St. Peter represents the Church. Very well, if I came into the presence of a Society and asked for its representative, who alone from among the multitude would step out from the others and come to the front? Surely one, and only one; that one who was looked up to by the rest, and recognised in some sense as their head or centre; and this is the position St. Peter appears to occupy in the Apostolic College. As St. Augustine himself expresses it: "Peter who by

reason of the Primacy of his Apostolate represented the person of the Church" (In Johan cxxiv, 5).

If we visit the Apostles at the critical moments in the early history of the Acts, whom do we see in the centre? Who is the representative person? Always St. Peter, and that without any word of dissent from the others.

## VI.

From what we have seen, then, and with the thought of proportion in our minds to govern all we say, it is plain that the inequality which is everywhere apparent in the natural order, and which, as I have elsewhere said, issues necessarily in the prominence of one; wherever, that is, a society presents itself and is to be sustained; it is plain that this inequality is not destroyed but rather sanctified for the divine use when it passes over the line into the supernatural sphere.

The disciples were given to our Saviour by the eternal Father; and they came, like other men, with certain characters or distinctions already stamped upon them. Our Lord, in his turn, appears to have recognised these distinctions and given to them his own stamp and seal; Simon being so recognised from the outset as the principal person, and therefore receiving the name of Peter. And if a Head is visible throughout the New Testament, first in the Person of our Lord Himself, and afterwards in the person of His disciple, this order, so far, is only preserved, and cannot be said to be transgressed if we find a visible Head in the subsequent history of the Church.

If at the first it is said "Jesus and those that were with Him;" and if, later on, the formula is not destroyed but transformed into "Peter and those that were with him;" there is nothing to startle us, on the contrary, it fulfils the expectations of those first days when we find St. Irenaeus subsequently laying down the principle that "With this Church, because of its supre-

macy, it is necessary that the faithful everywhere should be in communion."

## VII.

It is sometimes objected that the evidence in favour of the Holy See should not be recognised so far as it emanates from itself; and that Popes must not be suffered to expound their own position. But this is a line of argument which I cannot personally follow.

I doubt whether any one else in England realises the responsibility and the proper status of the Archbishop of Canterbury as the Archbishop does himself.

Human nature may be tempted to magnify its office; and it is natural and all for the best that it should have a strong bias in its favour; but it will at least say all that is to be said in its behalf; and on the other hand, where it is a question of government the first impulse of a subject is to resist authority, and the next to look about in search for respectable reasons for doing so.

What does a newly-elected bishop first do? He asks himself the question What am I? And the answer discloses the name of the See over which he is to preside; he next interests himself in those who have gone before him in the See; and finally goes on to ask what line of action was adopted by them on the whole and more particularly in critical cases.

At the present moment for instance (October, 1901), when the great historic See of Durham is soon to be filled, the question everywhere suggests itself as to whether there will be a continuity of principles as between Lightfoot and Westcott in the past and Dr. Moule in the future; and Dr. Moule himself surely shares in this sentiment. It will be impossible for him, even though he wished it, to avoid dwelling upon the illustrious names of his predecessors, and pushing his finger back and back along the historical line of the See until he touches the very point of its beginning. And

when troubles come up will he not find himself more and more thrown back upon the past both for his own support and also to satisfy the demands of his rebellious subjects when they cry out for his credentials?

"Sinner and unworthy as we are, we occupy the chair and Apostolic office of St. Peter. It is he who receives that which thou sendest us in writing. . . ."

So the great Hildebrand addresses Henry, on the eve of the great historic struggle. And in another place he reassures himself as to his motives, by feeling as it were behind him to be sure that his support is there. "God is our witness, that no personal motive, no secular end, impels us to raise against ourselves bad princes and impious priests, but solely the consideration of our bounden duty and the power of the Apostolic Chair, which presses upon us day by day."

### VIII.

Some allusion may here be made to objections that are sometimes offered to the Primacy of St. Peter in the Apostolic College.

1. The Mission to Samaria. That Peter should have been sent with John to Samaria is urged as an argument against his headship, And yet is not the representative the one of all others who would be selected to go, and that some one should accompany him is both natural and inevitable; and in this instance it is the Apostle whose name is most prominent in the New Testament after that of Peter himself. It has been pointed out that Peter himself was one of the body that selected and not merely one of the two who were sent; and, as I am contending, was himself the head of that body.

In the event he takes the leading part in Samaria, witness the whole scene between himself and Simon Magus, whom he excommunicates; no mention of St. John being connected with this act.

In his speech at Amsterdam in 1900, the President of the Transvaal Republic declared: "I have not come here as a fugitive but by order of my Government, in order to secure the termination of a War."

2. There is more difficulty at first sight in the instance of St Paul and St. Peter at Antioch; but it soon disappears, I think, on closer inspection. Dr. Hort says; "What St. Paul rebuked was not a doctrinal but a moral aberration of St. Peter; he was simply unfaithful to his own convictions."

Indeed it is a question whether St. Paul's own peculiar description of the case does not even bear some testimony to the Primacy. It plainly cost him something to do as he did "I withstood him to the face," as if he would also say—"in spite of his dignity and position."

It is the legitimate boast of one who has had the courage to rebuke a superior, where the exceptional nature of the occasion required it. And such a view of this incident is supported by the context of St. Paul's life. He was not one of the original twelve at the beginning, and was himself at first one of the most formidable opponents of the Faith. On his conversion he turned his eyes at once to St. Peter, journeyed to Jerusalem in order to pay him a formal visit and expressly left it on record that at that momentous epoch in his life he saw no other save James. In the second portion of the Acts, of course, St. Paul's name and personality are prominent throughout, but not in connection with the fundamental organisation of the Church as such, but with his own special department of the mission; a department which comes second not first, being subsequent and subordinate to the Church of the circumcision; the Gentile Church as we have already said, having been grafted on to the original Church: the Church of the Circumcision; and of that Church, St. Peter was, *ex hypothesi*, the head.

## IX.

In allusion to that aspect of the question which we have been considering, Mr. Everest states his own conviction in the following words: "Her (the Roman Church) contention is that our Lord did provide a visible headship for this Church, and that this headship was to be the prerogative of St. Peter's successors. And so far I have long been convinced that her claims are just, being provable both by Holy Scripture and the testimony of the Undivided Church; and that being thus provable they constitute part of her "ancient integrity" in which she has never "fallen from herself;" and are therefore recognised by the English Church, according to the declaration of her thirtieth Canon." So Mr. Everest speaks; and, after carefully weighing the question, I find myself, so far, in agreement with him. Meantime, however this may be, with the evidence before us that has been here reviewed it is difficult to see how any portion of the Church can be truly primitive unless it may also be regarded as in some sense Roman; and this has a special application to ourselves; for over and beyond those relations to which I have already referred, the name of St. Peter is scored deeply into the ecclesiastical history of our nation.

Westminster and the Minster at York are both dedicated to this Apostle; in the City of Lincoln there are, I believe, as many as seven Churches dedicated to his name; and altogether and up to the time of the Reformation more than one thousand Churches recognised in St. Peter their Patron Saint; while the records, for instance, of the Cathedral of Exeter appear to testify to wondrous pageants and processions on the Eve of his festival.

In any case what I have attempted to lay down may recall to our minds the position of this Apostle by fastening our attention once again upon the texts that are associated with his name; and all this in the hope that, after discussion and conference, they may be found

eventually to throw light upon some of those problems of government which for so many years past have been vexing the life of the Church in this land.

This question of government, in one shape or another, is before the mind of the Church in England at the present time; and a definite stage has been reached in the progress of the argument. Presbyters,—a term which is, I believe, the ancient and modern title for priests—are prepared to obey those who are set over them, only on condition that those who are set over them obey the teaching of the Universal Church.

It is recognised that authority is relative and that absolute obedience is due to Almighty God alone.

Does this process of relativity open out into an abstraction, or is it brought to a point in the person of an Official Head?

What answer does nature herself and the history of the Church as a whole suggest? This question which may be described as the question of the Holy See will soon come to be recognised—so I have ventured to predict—as one of the greatest questions of the new Century.



## CHAPTER IV.

### DIVISIONS.

It may be convenient to consider Contradiction and not Division as the proper antithesis of Unity; and to restore the proportions of Christendom not to destroy its divisions as the proper aim of Reunion.

Power belongs to God and is variously distributed to man. No sooner does it emerge than it is found also to diverge, until it issues at length in the whole diversified scene of nature outside us and our own wondrous complex nature within.

So to regard Divisions is to recognise them as a necessary condition of our case; it being only when they are pressed beyond their limits that we rightly describe them as contradictions or conveniently characterise them as unhappy.

Unity is not uniformity, although the two ideas are often confounded; and discrimination in the use of the term Division will perhaps best secure the proper distinction between them.

Let the idea of Division, then, be considered as at once necessary and subordinate to the idea of Unity, and our unhappy Divisions or Contradictions as destructive or antagonistic to its life.

### SECTION I.—THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWER.

A man is rightly called an individual in spite of the divisions within him; his divisions being divisions of

labour, and the various functions of his body converging to one centre and contributing to one whole. Only so far as there is war among the members does the body cease to be sound and tend towards dissolution.

And so with man's spiritual nature: desire and reason have each their part to play; and since desire is adapted to quicken the operations of reason and reason in its turn to regulate and realise the objects of desire, the Division is so far a division of labour. And it is the same with the other poles of the human consciousness; the mischief only then coming in when two departments are found to act one against the other instead of co-operating towards a common end. When there is a proper balance of power among the members of the body and their functions it is known as health; and when a due proportion is observed among the spiritual activities of the soul we call it holiness.

## II.

Again; when we view man in relation to those around him, since no one individual or corporation can know or do everything, action and knowledge must plainly be divided up; and this without any danger of conflict except in so far as the Division is pressed into a contradiction.

An army in the field may comprise several Divisions, and yet are they not unhappy, inasmuch as their ultimate aim is one and the same, and their broad line of action subservient to the deliberate plan of one directing head.

This would be another instance of a division of labour; the element of unhappiness or of contradiction being entirely away.

## SECTION II.—BIAS.

The various distribution of power, of which I have been speaking, begins with our beginning, and is not merely a gift subsequent to our birth. It is the fashion to assume that men are equal and indifferent at the outset, their several minds being like so many clean slates waiting only for the map of truth to be traced upon them. But on the contrary we are born, every one of us, with bents, leanings or inclinations, which have a tendency to become more prominent in proportion as our natures are more real; and distinct types of human character are found to emerge and to persist in the actual world about us. Circumstance, of course, also has its part to play, as a factor, real if less powerful, in producing and promoting division; its various forms being found sometimes to combine with inherent tendency and sometimes to counteract it.

Material barriers, such as mountains, rivers, and seas impose their proper limitations; various habits and customs are the necessary outcome of variation in climate; the rich fall into one division and the poor into another; and society everywhere reacts upon the individual.

It is not an abstract question that we are considering, but the phenomenon of bias, as seen in the individual man, when viewed in his actual setting; and when so viewed it is plain that bias is a permanent fact, that it tends, of itself, to give birth to divisions; and that divisions, as we have already seen, only then become unhappy when pressed and exaggerated into contradictions.

Some are born to rule and some to bow and submit; some minds are cast in an abstract and some in a concrete mould; some are prone to scepticism and some to belief; some develop a scientific and some a poetical habit; some minds are argumentative and some abhor

argument. Or again, there are orthodox minds and rationalistic minds; minds with a leaning towards ceremonial and minds that turn away from it; such distinct and various tempers being found to pick a way for themselves, to feed on material that is congenial to their natures, and so ultimately to settle themselves into divisions or departments.

## II.

We can scarcely imagine St. John the Evangelist reading Paley's *Evidences* or wading through the *Analogy* of Bishop Butler; such material would not be congenial to his particular disposition of mind; but there would be nothing unnatural in his commending these works to St. Thomas, since the mind of St. Thomas may be referred to the sceptical, and that of St. John to the believing, order; that is, the sceptical and believing tempers represent their respective bents or leanings, and so far a well-marked division comes out to view.

St. John might, of course, protest that such elaborate evidence was not merely unsuited to his own mind but also unnecessary to the mind of St. Thomas; while St. Thomas, on his part, might aver, as Huxley was apt to do after him, that justification is by verification, that if it was necessary for himself to see, and for himself to insert his fingers into, the print of the nails, it was equally necessary also for St. John and for all others, and that otherwise it would be immoral for anyone whatsoever to believe. But this would have been to assume the very position I am deprecating, namely, that the minds of the two Disciples and all other minds were equal and indifferent instead of recognising the several divisions into which they everywhere naturally fall.

A medical man, who believed in spite of difficulties, was once heard to say that when he listened to the record of some miracle in the Bible he found himself

travelling over in his mind conscientiously from point to point the whole course of normal, natural, and ordinary antecedent causes which are generally understood to produce the given effect.

Here was a man whose bent had originally landed him in the laboratory and introduced him to a society of minds congenial to his own; outward circumstance and daily habit, therefore, confirming the proper tendency within, until on entering another division, or being confronted by another aspect of thought the effort of adjusting the focus was apt to prove almost too much for him, tempting him, therefore, to confuse a general with a necessary law, and simply to reject what was to him a strange phenomenon.

Thus, in the sphere of evidences St. Thomas has come to be recognised as the proto-type of a multitude of sceptical tempers, destined in later times to succeed him; the function of his bias being to elicit precisely that kind of evidence without which it would have been impossible alike for himself and for them to believe.

Our Lord reproached him, it is true, but then He also went on afterwards so far to recognise his peculiar temper, as to supply him with evidence that was adequate to it, and thereby to secure a berth or division for his particular temperament within the setting of the Catholic Church.

On the whole, then, there will be minds or tempers belonging to St. Thomas's order, and they must come to believe, if they are to believe at all, in St. Thomas's way; and there will be tempers or minds fashioned after the likeness of St. John who will come to believe in St. John's way; the two orders of mind being enabled to coalesce and to live together in Unity, not by futile attempts to ignore this Division but by a steady determination to observe it.

Men do not all approach truth by the same route; and so long as the line of any particular route has a recognised place on the map of God's providence, no

one has the right to strike his pen through it, try vainly to compel all men whatsoever into one rut, and quarrel with others merely because they are not himself.

### III.

The relation of dogma to devotion may supply us with another instance; bias in this case being more pronounced because feeling is more prominent.

Each may be said to have its own proper division or department and its own proper function to perform; the ideal relation being where devotion imparts life and warmth to dogma, dogma in its turn waiting on devotion, supplying it with form, enriching it with ideas, and thereby saving it from running to seed. An affectionate and emotional child will make use of language that will not bear the scrutiny of a severe logic. "Dearest Mother, I owe everything to you; it was you who saved me and none other; but for you I should have been lost."

This sentence, when looked at as a whole and judged according to the principles of devotion, is certainly sound, and yet each of its three members is literally untrue; exaggeration being a vice where we are aiming at dogmatic precision, and a virtue when we step over into the department of devotion.

In other words such language only then appears unsound when dragged from its proper setting and arraigned before a judge who has no jurisdiction over it.

It is true, of course, that excesses and abuses in devotional language declare themselves from time to time, devotion as such disclosing a tendency towards extravagance, wherever it has free play; but it is also true though not always remembered, that where devotion is too severely controlled it is apt to die out altogether.

In the case of human relations the unrestrained outpourings of the heart are wont to find a channel for themselves apart from the rude gaze of strange and un-

sympathetic eyes; and so with the relation of the soul to God, a distinction must be carefully observed between devotional language habitually repeated by an individual and preserved for his own purposes, perhaps, in a private diary, and the same language, when wrested from its proper setting, exhibited in a text book, and prescribed, without distinction, for many and various minds.

In circumstances so strange as this, such language will appear shocking to some, ridiculous to others, and in any case congenial only to a few.

Again, within the sphere of devotion large room will have to be found for racial and national characteristics as well as for individual temperaments belonging to the same nation or to the same race.

The phlegmatic temperament so common among the English and German races belongs to one department or division, and the warm-hearted and fiery temperament of the Spaniard or the emotional temperament of the Frenchman to another; and the expression of the emotions must, of course, reflect this divergence.

To us Englishmen, living as we do on an island and therefore to some extent in a state of enforced separation from the rest of the world, the temperament of the Southern races must ever appear strange; and we shall not turn to the devotional works of St. Alphonsus Liguori either for scientific statements of doctrine or for manuals of prayer suited to an Anglican mind.

#### IV.

Another distinction to be recognised is that between the subjective and the objective temper. Speaking generally, the Protestant mind, whether within or without the Anglican Communion, belongs to the former of these divisions, and the Catholic temperament to the latter.

With the Catholic, religion is mainly an offering, and

with the Protestant it is regarded for the most part as an extract.

The latter is disposed to measure the services of the Church merely by the conscious benefit he derives from them ; or, as it is sometimes expressed, to go where he gets most good.

This attitude may be described as subjective ; its tendency being to become its own centre, and to refer everything to its own self. The danger here is lest feeling should come to be substituted for faith, and a fair outside for that real devotion of the heart to God which may, nevertheless, be entirely away. Viewing such a situation from the gallery of one of our Churches a Protestant will eagerly scrutinise each face to discern if possible the measure of good accruing to the soul that lives behind it.

Let an individual, then, of this type exchange his own for another racial division, and be transported to another clime, and everything about him will seem strange and because strange perhaps also untrue.

He sees, it may be, two little Italian boys sparring behind the Priest at Mass, and his worst suspicions as to the corruption of the Roman Church are confirmed, until he is tempted to turn away with an expression of thanks to God that he at least is not as other men are.

Nor is the spectacle, of course, to be defended as such ; but neither may the measure of its iniquity be determined apart from the context to which it belongs.

He contemplates the situation from one point of view ; the rest of the Congregation from another. Two divisions are thus before us ; and the several acts pertaining to these various departments must be viewed in reference to their proper settings ; God, who looks upon the heart, alone being able to pronounce a final judgment.

An Englishman, especially if he be also a Protestant, must expect to feel abroad when first he goes abroad ; and some time will have to elapse before he will be able,



whether within the building of the Church or outside it, to feel himself at home.

Meantime, it is plain that space must be found alike for the subjective and the objective elements in Christian worship; men do come to church to be edified and not merely to offer; and in the case of such contrasts as we are considering, startling as they certainly are at first and appearing at first so strange, what is required for the most part on either side is sufficient breadth and generosity of mind to extend our boundaries and to find room for others; and the one thing of all others that is calculated to exaggerate the evil so far as it exists at all is separation, and that narrow temper of mind of which it is the symptom.

It will be allowed, I think, in reference to this particular aspect of the question, that some members in every congregation are too good to be well behaved, while others are too well-behaved to be good; the difficulty for all people at all times being to regulate their conduct by the standard of God's will, and by that alone. On one occasion two friends who had been separated for years came suddenly face to face within one of the churches abroad, and during the Celebration of Mass. They at once exchanged salutations and fell into conversation, until one suddenly broke in, "I forgot, Mass is going on." To which the other replied, "The good God will not object." He might have said, "Beware, an eminent friend of ours is eyeing us;" but would this have proved him a better man?

## V.

The place and importance of the sermon in the exercises of religion supplies one illustration of the aspect we are now considering. In the eighteenth century sermons occupied more than an hour, and this, too, when forming a part only of a larger whole; and consistently with this the pulpit stood in the centre of the

church. About thirty years ago a reaction had set in, churches were restored, pulpits relegated to the side of the church, where, of course, they should be, but the ministry of preaching itself ignored or depreciated which, of course, it should not be. Now we are recovering the balance, the sermon is recognised as forming an integral part of the morning service and as supplying an opportunity for touching, but scarcely for treating, the subject of the day; such exhaustive treatment being reserved for a distinct time and referred to a separate situation. But what is such a separate situation as this but the very conference made famous by the eloquence of Lacordaire in the Church of Notre Dame some seventy years ago, and still to be recognised in the special and exhaustive lectures to be heard whether in that same cathedral or in other churches abroad to-day.

The question, then, of the sermon as viewed by Catholics on the one side and Protestants on the other is, so far, a question not of alternatives but of adjustment, not of contradiction but of proportion.

Meantime, so far as the objective aspect may be mainly identified with Roman worship, and so far as the Anglican and Protestant prejudices may rightly be said to be giving way in this direction, it is largely due, I think, to foreign travel and to the increasing number of English people who are making it into an annual habit, and reducing it almost to a fine art, until at length it may be considered to constitute one of the chief factors in the great enterprise of Reunion.

If many of us no longer use the old [language about Rome it is because, actual contact having served to correct prejudice, we have come to know better; and there is good reason to hope that some at least of the divisions I have been indicating will be recognised as belonging to the nature of things and no longer exaggerated into contradictions; and that the various characteristics by which we are confronted, whether in the race, in the nation, or in the individual, will be

allowed sufficient play and yet also be reduced to their true proportions within the context of the Catholic Church.

## VI.

So far we have seen that since the Church is intended to comprise a vast multitude of believers from out of every nation under Heaven, the fact to be recognised is variation in characteristics, and the habit to be acquired and assiduously cultivated is that sense of proportion which seeks to preserve the balance among these characteristics, and which may be said almost to constitute the very spirit of Catholicity itself.

By way of illustrating and enforcing what I have so far been attempting to say, I cannot refrain from quoting at some length from a striking passage in the Joint Pastoral of the Roman Catholic bishops recently addressed by them to their people in England. Anglicans would not be able to follow them into some special applications of their principles, but with these principles themselves few among us, I think, would be found to quarrel.

The special variation to which allusion is made is variation in the department of devotion, but the language of the bishops will be found also to have a wider application.

"The range of devotional acts," they say, "is wide and long—reaching from the sublime elevation of the soul and its seraphic communion with God on the heights of Thabor or of Calvary—from the perfect and permanent consecration of the mind, will, life and person to God's love and service—through an infinite variety of national vibrations of feeling and public manifestations of faith and piety, down to the simple and spontaneous expression of a personal devotion. Provided there be nothing inconsistent with the doctrines of faith, provided religious dignity and the proprieties

of persons, time and place be decorously observed, these various manifestations of religious sentiment are not alien to the mind of the Church, and they are not to be despised and condemned as out of harmony with modern thought, nor is the expression of feeling and temper of one nation to be censured because not in accord with that of another."

"Man's religious life is like his person, which is not simply a skeleton, but is built up in form and rounded figure, and endowed with subtle feelings and with the graces of feature, colour and complexion. His religious life is not as bare fibre of a tree without foliage to adorn it, to protect its fruit and to assist the essential functions of nutrition. But in man the external growth of religious practices corresponds and co-operates with his inner life, helping, protecting and embellishing it in manifold ways."

"God in His wisdom has constituted all organic life upon earth complex, with interdependent parts; and most of all is this true of men's intellectual moral and physical being. In addition to what is essential he is enriched with a thousand accidental gifts and properties; there are internal and hidden as well as external and visible 'functions;' and no form of beauty worthy of contemplation, no integrity of life worthy of admiration can ever be attained without the contribution of each and every part to the beauty and perfection of the whole."

"It is therefore 'reasonable' to praise the Church for large minded and affectionate care of her disciples when, in addition to the great acts of Religion and the Sacraments, she opens out so wide a field of devotional exercises, to be used according to the taste and attraction of her children who are of all races and tribes."

The Catholic sentiment of this passage, when viewed apart, as I have said, from some special applications of it, will commend itself, I think, to all.

## VII.

But the difficulty of our unhappy divisions goes deeper than anything I have yet touched, and has its root in sin, in the perversity of will, which is the outcome of sin, and in that dislocation of man's whole nature which is everywhere found to result.

Thus, the one unhappy division which lies at the root of all others is the division between man and his Maker, exaggerated as it was at the time of the Fall into a contradiction; and it was this that the Incarnation of our Saviour was intended to correct.

In the person of Christ that division which must ever subsist as between God and Man is restored once more to its normal state.

Thus, in the Agony in the Garden, two wills, the human and the divine, are before us, and a division therefore comes out to view; a division, moreover, which appears likely at first sight to develop into a contradiction and conflict.

Not to have desired the Cup to pass from Him would not have been human in our Saviour, but the expression of this desire was limited by a qualification,—“nevertheless,” “if it be possible;” if, that is, the Cup can so pass, without disturbing the proportion of things, if its so doing would be in conformity with the divine plan; “Nevertheless, not My will, but Thine be done.”

Thus the whole situation served to illustrate at once the limitation and the proper dependence of man: and the introduction of this momentous “nevertheless” secured that due subordination which is the necessary condition, everywhere, of order and unity. Since God is the Maker of all things and not merely of some, His is the only true point of view from which to regard them, and His mind, if I may reverently say it, is necessarily universal, and essentially Catholic.

It follows from this that the way to acquire the Catholic temper is what is sometimes described as the

practice of the presence of God, or the habit of holding communion with Him.

Thus the spiritual is sometimes contrasted with the carnal mind, as when it is said that to be carnally-minded is death, but to be spiritually-minded is life and —peace; as if it would say that the higher our thoughts ascend the more spiritual they become, and in becoming more spiritual they come to have more of that wisdom which is first pure; that is unmixed, unadulterated, free from that spirit of contradiction and contention which has been only too successful in vexing and disturbing the otherwise happy relations of Christians.

The way to compose our quarrels, then, is not to dwell upon our differences, but to lift our eyes and to look beyond the circle of ourselves; to attain, so far as we may, the Divine point of view, and to look out as God himself looks out upon all mankind and not merely upon some. The whole universe, whether spiritual or material, is alive with centres and with the systems, whether great or small, that circle round them, but these are gradually and grandly related so as to depend upon Him who is Himself the ultimate and perfect Centre of all things. Now, it was the attempt on the part of man to set up an independent centre and to regard the world from a point of view of his own; this it was that was the occasion of the Fall; and contradiction and confusion were the immediate outcome of an attempt to play a part for which he was never intended. In this way false centres have come to be the very life of our unhappy divisions. We centre round our own subjects until all other subjects whatsoever become uncongenial to us; and we centre round ourselves until all other persons whatsoever appear strange.

Thus at the beginning of the last century it was no uncommon thing for English people to protest that they hated foreigners; some few may still be found who hold the same language.

We are under a temptation to resent the presence of

anyone or anything that is strange; quite apart from the intrinsic value that attaches to them. They are something that we have to learn to understand if we are to live with them; and this means effort, and effort demands the sacrifice of self, and fallen man is instinctively on his guard against this which would constitute a revolution in the entire attitude of his life. Over and beyond the gift which imparts a bent to our nature there is the one great bent of all which is sin; and it is this that introduces the element of contradiction and unhappiness into the situation. A man's own centre is congenial and other centres are not; when actual life, then, compels some contact and circumstances seem to call at least for coalition, prejudice starts up as the most respectable reason for preserving the barrier and shutting out the efforts that are necessary to remove it; and grave "reasons" are advanced. Thus Darwin uses his eyes, and the sphere of observation is his proper sphere and therein he recognises his proper centre; but when he steps out of this sphere, he either feels lost or everything is an effort to him. "Now for many years," he writes, "I cannot endure to read a line of poetry."

And again, when looking out towards another sphere, viz: deductive reasoning—"I find that my mind is so fixed by the inductive method that I cannot appreciate deductive reasoning."

And when we come to read such books as Darwin's upon the Movements of Climbing Plants, and attempt to appreciate the peculiar absorption required for such continuous and protracted study, and when furthermore we recognise the limitations of our nature, even in the most remarkable exhibitions of it, it is hard to understand how Darwin could come to appreciate the results of any abstract reasoning whatsoever, except in the way of faith and authority.

So it is with friendship. The circles of two personalities coincide and are congenial; it does not follow that they think alike in everything, or that their powers

are the same; each belongs to his own division; and one may supply the complement to the other. But on a certain day and owing to a certain conjuncture of circumstances the circles "fall out," and remain henceforth, perhaps, permanently apart. Divergence ensues, and an angry temper leads each to seek out, and dwell upon points of difference, rather than points of agreement.

Then comes the problem,—how to bring them together again and make them one.

The difficulty then is to make them listen to reason; besides, to disentangle the complicated thread of their quarrel would be an irksome and laborious task. Laziness which is one expression of self, and pride which is the most acute form of it then rebel, and the knife is used simply to cut the threads of friendship and so to end the difficulty; such is the easy solution we adopt, and an actual schism is realised.

"I hate Jusuits," "I cannot endure Roman Catholics;" "I dislike Dissenters;—and—it would be laborious to make any attempt to understand them. To say the truth, I know little or nothing about any of them; but then, they do not revolve round my centre; in other words they are not myself." Thus narrow mindedness is opposed to the Catholic temper; and although the removal of misunderstandings by personal contact and mutual explanation will carry us even some considerable way as I shall elsewhere show in the direction of Reunion; the really great work, the preliminary philosophical training, which will serve to prepare the way for these, and for all other secondary efforts, will be found to lie nearer to the heart and centre of things, in the region, of what are known as first principles, and in the atmosphere of spiritual and personal devotion.

It is, I think, a mistake, as I shall elsewhere show, to say that we may pray for Reunion but that we must not work for it; but certainly the habit of communion with God must stand first in the order of all our efforts, and in connection with this must also come a never ceasing



prayer for the infusion into our hearts of that heavenly love, as well as that emptying out and entire surrender of ourselves, which alone can make room for it.

I will now go on to consider some divisions which have in the course of history been so far exaggerated into contradictions as to disturb the peace and unity of the Church, and therefore to call for special remark.

### SECTION III.—THE CHURCH AND THE NATION.

The barriers imposed by the hand of God in the natural order, to which allusion has already been made, barriers, for instance, of mountain, river, and sea, which can be reduced though not destroyed, and which check rather than forbid our passage, are not evils in themselves, and yet may become the occasions of evil where whole sections of people, whether nations or otherwise, are disposed to hug their isolation by fencing themselves round with prejudice, and mistaking their own circle of ideas or interests for the whole world.

This is sometimes described as Nationalism, by which I understand the spirit of a people so far as it not merely centres round itself, as of course it naturally must, but also refuses to centre round anything else; thereby shutting out the very idea of a Catholic Church as our Lord himself proposed it.

#### I.

For a nation to be loyal to its own institutions, and proud of its own achievements and progress is natural, and therefore according to the Divine will; but where is the necessary contradiction between this, the proper life of the nation as such, and the life that it shares with the greater world outside it?

We may speak of the English nation as belonging to one division and all that falls outside the boundaries of the English nation to another ; and in so doing we may come to picture these several departments as though they were stereotyped and therefore still. But, on the contrary, pieces from either side are ever passing ; and their several constituents, from material objects without life, upwards through the dumb animals to man himself, are ever moving across the line ; the subtle forces of thought, moreover, defying all barriers, flashing backwards and forwards, and ranging far and wide over the entire world ; for

“ Nimble thought can jump both sea and land.”

And it is plain that the triumphs of physical science are everywhere promoting interchange of thought and community of life.

In the course of the last hundred years Protection has been compelled to give way to Free Trade ; the Open Door may be said to be almost the symbol of modern conditions ; and men go out as well as in to find pasture.

There is scarcely a department of life within the nation but transgresses its boundary lines for purposes of its own ; the Fellows of the Royal Society in England cross the water in order to confer with their brethren in France, and their brethren return the call ; we have the International Scientific Congress and the Universal Exhibition.

## II.

Because the English people, then, have come so far to recognise their own dependence upon others and the dependence of others upon themselves, has the nation or the national spirit ceased to be ? This would be the inevitable outcome if the notion that all men were equal and indifferent at the outset were a truth, and not a gravely misleading fallacy as we have seen it to be.

An individual lives on condition that he drinks into himself the air around him, and he dies the moment he shuts it out; absolute isolation or independence being the death of him. And, so again, it is by entering into the social life around him and not by abstaining from it that he realises his own individuality; that is, goes in and out among his fellows and then falls back upon himself; and this, because he grows out of his own roots, or, to change the figure, revolves round his own centre.

And so with nations and still more so with races; their original distinctions are indelible, being the outcome of that various distribution of power, which shapes itself into bias, witnessing everywhere to the fact of an inequality from which there is no escape, and having a tendency to become more not less pronounced with the advance of time.

From this it follows that the national idea is likely for the most part to take care of itself, and nations as such to constitute divisions certainly but not necessarily to fall into opposing camps within the higher unity and the wider circle of One Catholic and Apostolic Church.

In any case, it is the Catholic and not the national idea that requires guarding; and of all hindrances to the cause of Reunion none perhaps is more serious than the suspicion on the part of a nation that it is impossible for its subjects to be loyal at once to itself and to some centre outside itself.

### III.

With a section, but a diminishing section, I think, of the English people the term "Popery" signifies idolatry, and the pomp and outward circumstance of ceremonial; the personality and office of Leo XIII. scarcely falling within the range of its vision. The term is so far a misnomer for the Eastern is even more extreme than the Western Church upon such questions as Transubstantiation, and Devotion to the Blessed Virgin. But with the

majority of the English people "Popery" signifies a special and peculiar distribution of power; the exercise within the nation itself of an authority that has its centre outside; and with the recollection still strong upon them of the manner in which this power was exercised and abused from time to time in the past they are apt too easily to forget the vast debt that the whole cause of civilisation owes to the Holy See. To free subjects from their allegiance is a dangerous policy of course; but why is it wrong for the Pope to do it if it is right for Henry VIII? Alluding to this grave abuse of power in the reign of the latter, Hallam writes: "Many of that body (the Clergy) were staggered at the unexpected introduction of a title that seemed to strike at the supremacy they had always acknowledged in the Roman See." I am convinced that this entire question is now passing through a process of re-statement which will clear the controversial atmosphere and place us eventually in happier relations with the Holy See; and all that is needed in the earlier stages of what must prove an extended process, is freedom of discussion and "an infinite capacity for taking pains," in order to bring our minds into a more consistent shape and ourselves into closer proximity to the whole Church in the West. Men cannot continue for ever to think it right that Sir Thomas More and Fisher should have been put to death in the reign of Henry VIII, and yet wrong that the same treatment should have been meted out to Cranmer and Ridley in the reign of Mary. Their minds cannot continue to shrink from the fires kindled for Protestants at Smithfield, without also recalling with horror the hangings of Catholics and other enormities at Tyburn and on Tower Hill. It will not content them to continue dwelling upon the abuses of the Middle Ages—merely upon their ecclesiastical side; or to talk vaguely of Rome's intolerance, while forgetting the long period of the Penal Laws in England.

They cannot for ever continue to think that if Father

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Damien died for the Lepers at Molokai, and the Roman Sisters bravely refused to leave Mafeking, it was in spite of their religion and not in consequence of it. They cannot in justice continue to think of the invasion of England by the Spanish Armada without also recalling the splendid loyalty of English Roman Catholics who rushed with one accord to their Country's Standard to fight against it.

If you are sincere in your belief that St. Ignatius Loyola was one of the grandest characters in history, and that St. Francis Xavier, the Père de Ravignan and Father Coleridge devoted themselves with singleness of heart to the service of Christ, you may be sure that only a little effort on your part is needed to free your mind of prejudice against the Jesuits. "The more we see of men," Mozley used to say, "the more we recognise the mistake of judging them as wholes; when, in fact, they are made up of departments." I am giving the substance of his words from recollection; but everyone will recognise their force, and they should lead us to narrowly watch our thoughts and to weigh carefully our judgments when we are attempting to distinguish actual facts through the mists of obstinate prejudices.

On the whole, then, I think this question of loyalty is the one that appeals with most force to Englishmen everywhere; and that we shall have taken one step and a very important step towards Reunion if we can convince them that loyalty to the Holy See, if it should come to be more extensively recognised in England than at present, will be found to be in no sense incompatible with genuine loyalty to our Sovereign and nation.

Meantime our Roman brethren may surely be allowed to learn by mistakes as well as ourselves. We know, if we come to think steadily of it, that they are Englishmen to the backbone like ourselves; that they desire, equally with us, to promote genuine education upon equitable principles; and that they are as proud of their country and as willing to fight for it as any Protestant can be.

However, the question has to be looked at from the point of view of fact and of principle, and I shall go on to view it in this light.

## IV.

As to the fact of loyalty I will select what will I think be accepted as a test case; I refer to the occasion of the Spanish Armada to which allusion has been already made. But first we must make some effort to picture the circumstances of that period.

The point of time itself—1588—is full of significance; and if at any time the civil allegiance of Roman Catholics in this country was subjected to the severest strain and put to the fullest test, it was then; and a loyalty that could survive that would survive any test.

Less than thirty years before, Convocation had met and drawn up articles embodying the ancient faith on such momentous matters as the supremacy of the Holy See, and the doctrine of the Mass; a few months later the Act of Uniformity had been rushed through the House; and to quote the language of Parkhurst to his friend Bullinger at Zurich: "The Pope was again driven out of England, to the great regret of the Bishops and the whole tribe of Shavelings;" and the Archbishop of York, in his place in Parliament, had characterised this step in language the force of which cannot be evaded; for "by relinquishing and forsaking the See of Rome," he protested that we were forsaking and flying from "all general councils; all canonical and ecclesiastical laws of the Church of Christ . . . and by leaping out of Peter's ship, were hazarding ourselves to be overwhelmed and drowned in the waters of schisms, sects, and divisions."

Surely, then, it would have been in the years immediately following upon these that our Roman brethren would have been tempted, if ever, to indulge in resent-

ment and reprisals, and to forget their duty to their Queen and country.

But what was the fact?

"The English Catholics," writes Creasy, "proved themselves as loyal to their Queen and true to their country as were the most vehement Anti-Catholic zealots in the Island. Some few traitors there were; but as a body the Englishmen who held the ancient faith stood the trial of their patriotism nobly. The Lord Admiral himself was a Catholic, and (to adopt the words of Hallam) then it was that "the Catholics in every county repaired to the standard of the Lord-Lieutenant imploring that they might not be suspected of bartering the national independence for their religion itself." But this, it may be said, was before the Vatican Council; and the Definition of Infallibility of 1870 had not then been passed. But have there been no illustrations of this since that point of time? There are many Roman Catholics in America, and Spain is a Roman Catholic country; was there any suspicion for a moment of the loyalty of these two peoples to their respective civil governments and at the same time also to their common spiritual centre in the Holy See outside?

The Duke of Norfolk is the first nobleman in the land, and an ardent Roman Catholic. Is there a sane person in England or throughout the Empire who doubts for a moment his loyalty to his king and country and at the same time also his loyalty to the Apostolic See? Did he not volunteer for the Front and fight for his country in South Africa, and within a few months after quit the shores of his own land, place himself at the head of an English pilgrimage to Rome, and do homage as well as present an address to Leo XIII?

It would be easy to multiply instances, but I shall content myself here with a quotation from a letter by Mr. W. S. Lilly, a well-known author in this country, and the secretary at the present time and for many years past of the Catholic Union of Great Britain. Writing

in the *Times* newspaper in January, 1900, at a point of time when anxiety in this country was at its height, reverse after reverse in South Africa having stirred the heart of the nation to its very depths, Mr. Lilly said: "What no man who loves his country can doubt is, that in the present crisis of England's fate the obligations of party should be utterly subordinated to the obligation of patriotism."

It would be easy to pursue this; we may go to the House of Lords and find Roman Catholic Peers there; or we may turn to the bench of Roman Catholic bishops; or again we may consider ardent Radicals in politics like the late Mr. Costelloe, one of the candidates for Chelsea; it is the same everywhere. The Irish people and therefore members have their national grievance but it must not be confused with their religion; and the greatest of their leaders was in fact a Protestant. Everywhere it is recognised by our Roman brethren that the question of their duty to God and their duty to Cæsar is not a question of alternatives but of adjustment; according to the spirit of our Lord's own words: "Render, therefore, unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's."

## V.

But it is important to show that such instances as I have given are based not upon expediency but upon definite principle. In this connection it was, no doubt, seriously believed, not merely by Protestants but by some Roman Catholics also, at the time of the Vatican Council in 1870, that the Definition of Infallibility would be found seriously to endanger the civil allegiance of those directly affected by it. And Mr. Gladstone gave expression to it in his famous pamphlet, "The Council of the Vatican in its bearings on Civil Allegiance." That so distinguished a statesman and one of such evident sincerity should have been so genuinely



alarmed by the Definition and yet so surely mistaken, as with characteristic generosity he afterwards acknowledged himself to have been, constitute an experience of special value to the advocate for Reunion. The answers, alike of Newman and Manning, to this Pamphlet should satisfy any open-minded reader that the loyalty of Roman Catholics is as secure since the Vatican Council as it certainly was before it.

"My first answer," wrote Manning, "to the charge that the Vatican Council has made it impossible for Catholics to render a loyal Civil Allegiance is that the Vatican Council has not touched our Civil Allegiance at all; that the laws which govern our Civil Allegiance are as old as the revelation of Christianity, and are regulated by the Divine Constitution of the Church and the immutable duties of natural morality. We were bound by all these obligations before the Vatican Council existed. They are of Divine institution, and are beyond all change, being in themselves unchangeable." And Newman speaks in the same sense when he says that the civil power is "a power which as truly comes from God as his (the Pope's) own does, though diverse as the Church is invariable."

Thus Catholic teaching on this point declares civil authority to be from God, and that the holder of it has a right, therefore, to the respect and obedience of his subjects, as being the representative of God to them.

But over and beyond the incidental evidence of historical fact and the permanent witness of Catholic teaching we have to-day before our eyes a plain and continuous exhibition of loyalty on the part of those many thousands of Roman Catholics who live and worship in this land to convince every candid mind that their allegiance to their temporal sovereign is not merely secure but even conspicuous.

## VI.

The earth revolves round its own axis or centre ; does it therefore cease to revolve also round its central sun ? And so a National Church does not therefore cease to revolve round its own centre because it revolves, if it so be, round the Holy See.

If, then, it be God's will, that in the course of time we should as a nation melt, however gradually into the Catholic sphere, it will then appear as ridiculous to say: Do you belong to the Catholic Church or to the English Church ?—as to ask : Does our earth revolve round its own axis or round the sun ? The question being, *ex hypothesi*, a question not of alternatives but of adjustment.

## SECTION IV.—A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF.

In calling attention to some of the more painful contradictions within the Anglican Communion itself I must not be supposed to do so in any spirit of disloyalty to our spiritual rulers. They have to share with ourselves the difficulties of our case ; and in seeking for a remedy it is easier for the laity or the inferior Clergy to give the first impulse.

This has been the history of the Oxford Movement from the first ; and the part of our Bishops has been to recognise, control and guide rather than to take the initiative.

No, it is the character of our formularies and the setting of isolation in which they find themselves that lies at the root of the mischief.

If the desire on the part of our Reformers to simplify our Services was genuine, the experience of three hundred years has proved their failure in this direction to have

been complete. But the reason of this failure lies deeper still. It is not enough merely to say that they attempted what they could not achieve; the movement itself was complex and full of compromise; nor can it be said to have attained a genuine settlement. And the Reunion conferences which have been held in recent times have made it evident that in regard to differences within the Church of England herself, as well as in regard to points which separate her from those outside, it is fundamental questions and first principles that divide us one from another.

On one side it is assumed that the Anglican Communion is a whole and not a part; that the Book of Common Prayer is adequate in itself, and therefore that omission is prohibition. On the other side the Church in England is recognised as a part of a much greater whole; and the liturgy is viewed and interpreted in the light of "Catholic tradition."

Men are apt to speak lightly of "going by the Prayer Book," as if its rubrics and directions were sufficiently precise and exhaustive to bring us all into line, whereas the case is notoriously otherwise.

I have already shown what conspicuous leaders on the Roman and the Nonconformist, as well as on our own side, have to declare as to the "Popish" character of our formularies; and the great body of Evangelical Churchmen within our own Communion are equally urgent on the other side.

How are we to account for these contradictions? The question is one of proportion; and if we are right in saying that according to the plain teaching of our Lord and of His apostles the whole Church is intended to occupy the first place in our minds and its parts are intended to come second, those would appear to adopt the right course who ask what the general practice elsewhere may be and then straightway proceed to adopt the same course in England, except where the express language of our formularies plainly precludes this. Some

questions there are, of course, which at present defy settlement; but it is not so with others.

Is the Holy Eucharist, for instance, to be recognised as the Central Service of the Christian Church, and, more particularly, as the chief service of every Sunday? Are the faithful to be away from this service unless they are prepared there and then to communicate? Or is it their duty as well as privilege to be present every Lord's Day, whether they communicate or not?

Such questions are not mere questions of arrangement; and from the standpoint of Reunion and of that assumption or rather fact that lies at the root of Reunion, namely that our Lord meant us to be one, I should myself answer at once and base my teaching upon the answer, that since everywhere else this service is recognised as a service of obligation on Sunday we must so regard it here also. And so with the deeper questions which underlie this practice, questions of the Priesthood and of the Sacrifice; to suppress these truths or, what is far worse, to contradict them, is to go against the whole current of teaching in the East and West alike; and our profession of belief in a Church that is one as well as Catholic plainly precludes such an attitude.

### III.

It should be remembered that our Lord Himself has expressly prescribed the proper motive of all efforts towards Reunion:—"That the world may believe;" and experience teaches that all unhappy divisions even before they reach the acute stage of separation and schism have a tendency as such to unsettle our faith.

The multitude of people live upon the maxims of the society in which they move; such maxims forming the constituents of an atmosphere which they are ever imbibing into themselves. And if everything is to be questioned on all sides of them, and they find themselves tossed backwards and forwards like a ball from one

teacher to another there may still be some who will be braced by such a climate, but it will prove too strong for the majority. Thus the necessity, at the present time, of finding some security for our teaching imposes upon every one of us the duty of strenuously following up this question.

#### IV.

The circumstances of our own time must be realised if we are to appreciate our difficulties. It is sometimes said that we should be slow in making changes and lead our people gradually from one step to the next. And this, of course, is true; but it does not meet our case.

Owing to modern inventions movement has become so rapid that a considerable proportion of our people are constantly passing from one centre to another without continuing for any length of time in one stay. Now if this passage introduces them to new teachers, belonging to the same Communion, but holding and teaching doctrines which are diametrically opposed to what they have been hitherto accustomed to hear, unsettlement of mind must inevitably follow. It would be otherwise, of course, if there were unanimous agreement among all teachers in the Anglican Communion; under such circumstances the elementary principle, line upon line, and precept upon precept, would be universally pursued, bringing all minds at length not to unanimity, which obtains nowhere, but to one and the same level of substantial agreement throughout. And the principle of our people being thus established in the truth is expressly recognised in Holy Scripture.

It may be said that within one and the same parish the principle of continuity is more generally recognised now than formerly; more care being taken that the stream of instruction should not be turned back in its channel. This so far represents an advance upon the past; but it does not meet the difficulty of a moving

population to which I have alluded, and even where a population is almost stationary the outcome, on the whole, must be the co-existence within one and the same Communion of Gospels that are at once stereotyped and contradictory. Nor is this all that can or ought to be said on this subject. In densely populated districts perhaps in a majority of cases, certainly in a great many, it is not the parishioners only who compose the congregation. On the contrary members come to it from various parts. In country districts, on the other hand, the outward adornments of the Church may be improved but I do not think it will be found that what is known as Catholic teaching is so general as it is sometimes imagined. It is represented and there is, of course, much to be said for it, that there is but the one Church and that it is a mistake to alienate people, and that we must lead them gradually, and so forth; but does the parish priest teach his people that he is a priest? Does he teach them to worship at the Holy Eucharist? Does he bid them go to Confession? I am anxious to face facts in order that we may become alive to the necessity of a larger measure of agreement; and I say to a very large extent what is characteristic in Catholic teaching is simply away—and in many cases it is away because it is thought wiser not to urge it. But will anyone say when it is to be urged? I think the special danger of our case is that men are tempted quietly to put doctrine on one side; to preach practical sermons, and to win the hearts of their people by working hard for them, and these two are great duties, of course, but is not the doctrine a duty also. I think, then, here as elsewhere, a centre of gravity is plainly needed; and it will be a gain so far if, by steadily contemplating actual instances we come to recognise that the apparatus of the Church of England is plainly out of order and calls loudly for repair.

## V.

1. One out of a number of cases that have happened to myself or come under my immediate notice, grew out of a large diocesan meeting that I was called upon to address.

There was an audience of some seven hundred people before me, gathered out of various parishes; and in the course of my lecture I alluded more than once to the "Altar."

An Incumbent of one of the parishes, who had brought a large number of workers with him, expostulated with me afterwards in a tone of courtesy and kindness but also of evident distress.

"It is hard," he said, "I think, that when I have been labouring for years to teach my people that there is no such thing as an Altar they should be compelled to listen to such allusions in your lecture." I could only say how grieved I was and how hard I also felt it, not only for his people but also for myself, that it should be impossible to allude to the chief ornament of the Church without giving distress in one direction or another.

2. Another instance I will adduce is that of a correspondent to whom I have never spoken, but who kindly wrote to me upon the subject of her own perplexities, and who allows me to incorporate her words with this section of my chapter. She is a lady of education, who has been studying the more difficult aspects of this question for some years.

She writes: "What we are taught in —, or rather not taught but left to infer, is not at all the same Gospel as I hear in London from such men as Canon — for instance, to whose Catholic teaching I owe much. 'What Canon — teaches as absolute primitive truth of the greatest importance, our Vicar and many like him utterly deny, and do not believe in any Sacramental Grace at all. Which am I to believe? Canon — or the

Vicar? The latter says, 'Don't believe either of us, take your Bible and find the truth there.' Well,—in the Bible I see quite plainly the truth of the Real Presence . . . also the Sacrament of Confession and Absolution—the ministry of reconciliation, but the Vicar says 'No, that is not truth at all.' I ask perhaps half a dozen Roman Catholic priests what is their faith on certain doctrines—they every one tell me to a hair's breadth exactly the very same thing, though they may be men who do not even know one another, and they say: 'This is not my opinion, it is the teaching of the Church, and therefore I must and do believe it, and so ought all men to do.' There must be truth somewhere, and the same Holy Spirit cannot possibly teach one good man one doctrine, and another something widely divergent and even quite contrary to it . . . I cannot but think that the Anglican Church at large must come to see all this before long and very clearly too."

Again:—"For the last three and a half years my mind has been much disturbed on the question of the Church's position and authority, and certainly all the disputes and divisions among us, do not tend to reassure a mind that is perplexed . . . It seems to me there must be a Visible Head and Centre of Unity, or true Unity is an impossibility, and we may each believe just as much or as little as we care to. . . . I trust that I am not unduly occupying your time if I tell you that I have several times during the last year at least been on the point of being asked to be received into the Roman Church,—not at all because I am attracted by its ceremonial, or because I can receive all its dogmas, but simply because I see, there is and must be a Divine voice to guide us left in the world, and where is that voice? Where is the Head? How can we have any certainty what is truth? For different bishops and clergy in the Anglican Church certainly teach widely differing 'views.'"

Now let anyone contemplate this as a psychological



study. It is a fair type to exhibit, being not the writing of a young woman, nor the language of excitement, but the deliberate utterance of an anxious and educated heart and mind.

How was I to treat this case? My answer was: "Nothing justifies secession except a profound belief that the salvation of your soul depends upon it." I also sent notes of practical meditations.

Her reply was "I don't think I could truly say I was quite sure, and should certainly not take the step unless I had not the shade of a doubt that it was absolutely right and the will of God." . . . "May God, in His own time, bring His whole Church into the fuller light which I cannot but believe the Anglican Church has to a great extent lost. . . ."

I continued to send outlines of meditations on the Gospels, avoiding all controversy and comment; until at length, after four months and a half, I received a letter saying: "I feel now that I ought to write to you and tell you, that these last weeks I have been carefully following your advice and giving myself much to devotion, but really the more I thought and prayed the more . . . I felt as if the time had come when God said to me 'Must' as you expressed it to me in your first letter to me . . . so that I have to tell you that last week I was received into the Catholic Church. . . . I trust that . . . you will not . . . think I should have waited . . . but my conscience was so deeply troubled and my physical strength also much exhausted by such a long struggle. . . . I feel, of course, deeply grateful for all the blessings and graces I have received in the Anglican Church, which must ever be most dear to me, as well as all those who faithfully minister in her, but for myself, I felt unable to remain where truths are constantly being contested and I never could be sure what really was truth and the whole truth."

Now, I have quoted these words, not, of course, with-

out the express permission of my correspondent, because I think they will appear the more weighty from the fact that they were not originally intended for publication ; and, I may add, because there is a reverence and sense of responsibility about them and an entire absence of that flippant and, I must add, deplorable tone which escapes from some who take this step, a tone which is as odious to our Roman brethren as it certainly is to us. In such cases it is not difficult to foresee that ultimate loss of all faith of which we sometimes subsequently hear.

3. The third instance I shall adduce appears in a book to which allusion has already been made (*The Gift of the Keys*). Mr. Everest is an Honorary Canon of Truro, and was ordained as far back as 1841. The earnestness and straightforwardness of the writer are manifest on every page, and his experience, which is the result of long years of ministerial life, finds expression in deliberate words that should, I think, be carefully weighed.

In the course of some remarks upon Modern Liberalism the author writes : "Compromising words are spoken and compromising acts are done (in relation to Dissent, he means), and that, too, by those in high places ; and provided that there is a consensus of approval on the part of the Secular Press and the Dissenting bodies, those who speak and act in this way think that they are disarming the Church's enemies, and adding to its days as an Establishment. But it is little considered how this . . . . affects and grieves, and enters like iron into the soul of many of those who are within the fold, who are spending and being spent in the Church's service. Many a laborious and faithful priest returns to his vicarage from his pastoral work with a desponding and aching heart, 'What an unreality it all is ! What is the use of all my teaching, and all my efforts to bring back the wanderers into the fold, when as often as not they are able to cast my own Bishop's

words and acts, and those of some of my fellow clergy in my teeth?"

I understand Mr. Everest to be speaking generally and not in any personal sense; and as regards my own Bishop I have received nothing but kindness and sympathy; but, as regards the general drift of what Mr. Everest says, I believe him to be entirely right; and after watching the spirit of liberalism in our own Communion and the working of Undenominationalism everywhere, over a course of twenty years, I do not hesitate to express my own deliberate conviction that it is responsible more than any other single cause that can be named for the despondency and deadness in their work that overtakes some of our clergy, and, worse than all, for that unbelief on the part of not a few of our people and that indifference on the part of many more which we are apt so often to lament without being at the pains to analyse.

## VI.

I do not wish to be understood as implying that no scope should be left for discrimination. A more or less wide margin for this there must ever be, at the least as regards the application of truth. No, this is not the difficulty before us. It is the insecurity of our teaching arising out of the absence of that unity which is expressly prescribed by our Lord as the remedy for unbelief;—"That the world may believe."

On these grounds I consider that Conferences on Reunion present themselves no longer merely as a wise but also as a necessary step; and they are, I think, to be welcomed as supplying evidence of the revival in our midst of the true instinct of unity.

That Christians belonging to the same Communion, when they meet together, should be compelled to choose between the alternatives of being either silent or shocking is an anomaly in which we ought not to acquiesce.

And the difficulty before us is not peculiar to the present moment; it has forced its way to the front whenever the Church of this country has been stirred into life. And simply to confine ourselves to the past seventy years,—the period of the Oxford Movement—it is conspicuous in the life and teaching of all the principal leaders: of Keble, of Newman, of Pusey; of Manning; and of Liddon.

In 1837 we find Newman writing to Manning, "Some one here is writing against Keble's sermon. Pusey is in the thick of a hailstorm. Really it is astonishing hitherto how well I have escaped. My turn will come." Manning, writing in 1846, says: "Our divisions seem to me to be fatal as a token, and as a disease. If division do not unchurch us it will waste us away." And in the same year, "I cannot conceal from myself that the mass of the Church would almost disown me. A large body certainly would."

And in writing to Robert Wilberforce in 1848, "Again, as you say, it will be a comfort to you to get your mind and belief fully expressed. But I feel it almost a point of truthfulness to say I cannot go on with any reserve. Truth is a trust to be laid out and accounted for, and time is spending fast. Moreover, people believe us to be what we are not, and are disbelieving truths we hold to be sacred, because we hold them in silence, which is a kind of unrighteousness."

And the next year: "I have tried to hold my peace, to lose myself in work, to take in other subjects which I dearly love and delight in, but all in vain."

"Protestantism is not so much a rival system, which I reject, but no system, a chaos, a wreck of fragments without idea, principle, or life. . . . Anglicanism seems to me to be in essence the same, only elevated, constructed, and adorned by intellect, social and political order, and the fascinations of a national and domestic history."

And the next year, 1850: "Be our paper doctrines

what they may we have had contradictory bishops, priests, and people for 300 years on baptism, the real presence, the sacrifice, absolution, succession, priesthood, rule of faith, the very constitution, and authority and identity of the Church."

Now in regard to the above I think we have moved somewhat but not as much as we believe. I wish to speak with precision. But does our Catholic teaching keep pace with our Church restoration. In many parts of the country, is not the way to succeed—to hold things in reserve? To say, it would never do in a place of this kind?

To declare that what the people require is plain, practical sermons. We are apt to forget that philanthropists who know not or refuse to own Christ can and do work hard for their fellows. Our position is more than this; we claim to bring along with us a message, and to announce it; and to bid men believe it, or be prepared to lose their souls.

"I can well remember," said Manning, a few years before his death—"I can well remember how at the outset of my life as a pastor . . . the necessity of a divine commission forced itself upon me; next how the necessity of a divine certainty for the message I had to deliver became, if possible, more evident . . . a human or fallible message, by a messenger having a divine commission, would be the source of error, illusion, and all evil. I then perceived the principle of Christian tradition as an evidence of the Truth, and of the visible Unity of the Church as the guarantee of that tradition. . . ."

"What was it he said afterwards?" asks Charles Reding; "I recollect; that the Catholic Church was in ruins, had broken to pieces. What a paradox! Who'll believe that but he? . . . But all this is because the Bishops won't interfere; one can't say it, that's the worst, but they are at the bottom of the evil. They have but to put out their little finger and enforce the

Rubrics, and then the whole controversy would be at an end. . . .” And again: “I protest to you, and you may think with what distress I say it, that if the Church of Rome is as ambiguous as our own Church, I shall be in the way to become a sceptic, on the very ground that I shall have no competent authority to tell me what to believe. The Ethiopian said ‘How can I know, unless some man do teach me?’ and St. Paul says ‘Faith cometh by hearing.’ If no one claims my faith, how can I exercise it? At least I shall run the risk of becoming a Latitudinarian; for if I go by Scripture only, certainly there is no Creed in Scripture.”

I quote the words about the Bishops not as being myself in agreement with them; I feel assured that neither Bishops nor clergy can remedy the evil until Conferences have introduced a larger measure of unity in our midst.

But in this instance, we know how Newman had viewed the situation in the early days of the Tractarian movement.

And so again, a few years later, Bishop Ives wrote: “For many years I have been more or less doubtful of my position . . . and feeling about me for surer ground on which to stand in view of a judgment to come.”

In 1874 Liddon wrote: “We of the English Church are already unable to assert before Christendom that we practically hold even serious doctrinal differences to be a bar to religious Communion. We co-operate with those who deny that which we deem true, or assert that which we deem false.” And six years later Pusey writes: “It is said to be an anachronism that clergymen should think themselves bound to cease to minister in the Church of England because they no longer hold those blessed truths” (The Incarnation and other central articles).

Now I am anxious to make this as vivid as I can in order to bring emphasis to bear upon the question, especially in view of conferences that are yet to come.

It is the fashion with not a few in our midst first to dissemble these difficulties and next to accuse those of disloyalty who advocate Reunion. But what I considerate is quite a distinct frame of mind from what is understood as impatience; my position throughout is that we should probe to the very heart and centre of the problem in order to find its solution; and not attempt to bring in the witness of our activities in order to condone our contradictions.

I am calling attention to a mark that is scored deep into the Oxford movement from start to finish; it is not to be imputed and restricted to one leader rather than another, it bears witness to a great evil and calls aloud for an adequate remedy.

There are laymen in our Communion who have been taught over a course of years that the Holy Eucharist is the central service of the Church and of every Sunday; and that it is their duty to be present at that service whether they communicate or not. On the strength of such teaching they have come themselves and brought their own children Sunday by Sunday; when after some time has elapsed they suddenly find the whole subject brought up again for debate and thrown into the crucible of controversy; and some of the very teachers, who at least are understood to identify themselves with the position, suggesting that a discussion of the subject in the papers would be interesting; and, more than this, advice at this point has been given to the younger clergy to fall back again upon the old lines, which I understand to mean once more reinstating the choir office of Matins in a central instead of in a subordinate position.

Now, perhaps I may say it, I have had some little experience in the practice and theory of teaching, and I declare that if I could allow myself to entertain the notion, so awfully wicked and devilish, of unsettling another man's faith, I should faithfully pursue that very course. I should plant the ladder of dogma firmly

against the house of the Church and bid him climb steadily up from rung to rung until he had attained to the high level of the Catholic position. Meantime, I should make my way within the house to the highest room, and meet him when he reached the top with a frightful blow full in his face and send him reeling to the ground again. Can we be surprised if our laity roar for the very disquietness of their hearts and turn upon us in fury?

Now in regard to all this, it is understood, of course, that Rome has the defects of her qualities: that in the general exercise of her discipline, and more particularly sometimes in her excommunications, she appears to bear with a heavy hand upon her children; nevertheless, after making every allowance for this, there is no denying what we have lost as regards the security of teaching, by our separation from the Holy See; however the blame for that separation is to be apportioned. That controversies after running a long course do come to a termination where that See is recognised as a centre and fail so to do when she is not so recognised appears to me a fact of history.

Sometimes, indeed, it is said that the Unity within the Roman Communion of which we hear so much is, in fact, unreal and delusive. But this, I think, is not true. There are differences of opinion, of course, on matters not of faith; and since human nature comes into the case and the Roman Communion comprises so vast a multitude of many nations, languages, and dispositions, there is plenty of bickering and disputing, perhaps also of intrigue, and occasionally the exhibition before our eyes of what can only be described as a furious controversy; there is rivalry too, and sometimes jealousy as between the religious orders, and a spirit of rebellion here and there from time to time.

But does this not touch the point that is before us; every one of these symptoms is visible more or less in any large society on earth. No, the difficulty lies deeper



than all this, and must be brought to light if it is ever to be remedied.

What would happen, let us ask, to a Roman priest who preached against Confession, or denied the Real Presence of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament; or declaimed against Eucharistic Adoration; or warned his congregation against the delusion of supposing that the "Table" was an "Altar;" or that the preacher could in any sense be called a priest; or that the Pope was infallible?

How long would he be allowed to teach that it was a mistake to regard Tradition as in any sense whatever a source of revelation; or that the congregations must not believe what he taught them unless they could prove it from Scripture? How many more Sundays would he be allowed to preach after gravely assuring his people that Mass is not a service of obligation? or that it is not a question of what the Church says but of what the Bible says? or that it was useless to come to him for confession?

Who will deny that for such an one as this an apparatus there certainly is ready at hand, and specially designed for bringing him to his senses; and that it would henceforth be a question merely of weeks, or perhaps even of days, sufficient, that is, for bringing this apparatus into play, before he would be put to silence?

And why put to silence? In order merely to suppress him? In order to humiliate him? Not so, but in order to save his flock; "that the world may believe."

Ought not this question to be faced? The outcome of this habit among us of allowing contradictory teaching on almost every article of the faith within one and the same Communion may be described as—Organised Latitudinarianism. Let no one grow impatient at this description, or repeat the senseless cry of Romaniser. The question I am asking men to face is away and beyond that, and far above out of its sight.

Our countrymen are not demonstrative, and unless a

man should happen to be of an aggressive temperament he does not proclaim himself, in the face of such contradiction, an enemy to religion ; no, he does something worse, he quietly drops it.

The Press, as a spectator of our troubles, may be said to see us better than we see ourselves ; and after two valiant leaders in the same army had been tilting one against the other not many months back, one of the daily papers put in this pertinent question : "Is it not time, now, for Christianity to have a turn?" And another paper which is to be found in the hands of many of our educated people in discussing, in a leading article, the issue between what are called the two extreme schools, brought the whole matter to a point in these words : "If a *modus vivendi* for both alike is to be found in the Church of England, it can only be done with the help of the State and the strict enforcement of the law against those who violate it."

Does not the iron enter into our souls when we read this? According to the original intention the world was presumably to be kept in order by the Church ; now, on the contrary, the Church, it would appear, is to be kept in order by the world.

The distinction, then, between ourselves and our brethren who continue to look to the Holy See for their centre, is not that we have antagonisms and contradictions, and that they have none ; this is not the case ; for we are human beings, both of us, and both of us alike therefore are subjected to these conditions ; no, the mark of distinction between us is that whereas disputations upon important if not upon fundamental truths come at length to some termination in their case they seem never to do so in ours. Nor is there any sanction in Holy Scripture or elsewhere for those who protest that such a state of unsettlement is for our good ; there is scope enough for our probation after receiving a message that is consistent with itself without adding to it the gratuitous perplexities which must

necessarily arise out of a chronic state of civil war. Now in the first centuries of the Church to which we professedly appeal, when confusions came up and threatened her permanent welfare, there was one See and one Centre to which men could look, and which in its turn directed its attention as need arose, and increasingly with the advance of time, to the interests of the whole Church.

And I think that now, after due allowance has been made for actual abuses in the past, there is and ever must be a strong presumption that what the Holy See has to say on central subjects of our faith is to be regarded as right.

Why should not that See again be to us what once she was? In the earliest days of the Church she was formally described as the "Guardian of the Vine," or as the "Church which presides;" or as the Church, which at that time "had so recently received the tradition from the apostles;" and in later times it was this Church of which St. Bernard (A.D. 1153) wrote: "I think it right that the wounds of faith should there, in the first place, be healed where faith can have no defect."

#### SECTION V.—THEOLOGICAL AND PHYSICAL SCIENCE.

Another illustration of this subject presents itself in the division between Theological and Physical Science. Here is evidently what may be termed a division of labour, but one which, during the century that has just run out, threatened to become an unhappy and at one time even a disastrous division. For the last ten or fifteen years the sky has gradually been clearing, and the process of Reunion has been silently and therefore the more surely going forward.

The question comes within the scope of this Essay,

because in the event of Reunion with the Holy See, however distant that Reunion may be, the decisions of the Roman authorities and the principles upon which these decisions are based would become a matter of vital interest to ourselves as to others.

## I.

Before going on to speak of the parallel between the two great movements of the last century, I will venture to adopt, or propose, as the case may be, certain provisional definitions which may so far serve to clear the ground.

**SCIENCE IS SYSTEMATISED KNOWLEDGE.****PHYSICAL SCIENCE**

is

**SYSTEMATISED  
KNOWLEDGE**

of

**PHENOMENA.****THEOLOGICAL  
SCIENCE**

is

**SYSTEMATISED  
KNOWLEDGE**

of

**GOD.****ITS RANGE.****Phenomena.****ITS RANGE.**

Things Visible and Invisible as they are related to final causes.

**ITS AIM.**

"To resolve the complexity of phenomena into simple elements and principles."

**ITS AIM.**

The restoration in man of the image of the invisible God ; and the interpretation of life through the medium of a divine society.

**ITS LIMITATION.**

Not concerned, as such, with final causes.

**ITS LIMITATION.**

Concerned as such with the Deposit of Faith and the government and regulation of the Church.

Thus if, according to the usual course, the several sciences are to be understood as representing so many various aspects of nature, they may in turn be represented by a series of concentric circles; theological science being represented by the outer circle, all other sciences whatsoever being represented as so many circles that fall within.

Nothing obviously can fall outside the sphere devoted to the knowledge of God.

The great fact of solidarity requires that all established results in any one science or department of science shall be made known to the rest, and, so far as may be, referred to their proper place within the whole structure of knowledge.

Each department is presided over and energetically handled by beings that are human, and the division of labour becomes an unhappy division only when one department denies the demonstrated results of the others, mistaking itself which is but a part for the entire circle of knowledge which represents the whole.

Every new discovery belonging to the inner circles or sciences will be found to illustrate the science of theology and to fertilise and enrich its soil; and it is the part of theology in its turn to watch every hypothesis belonging to other departments and to follow it with interest until it passes out of the hypothetical stage into the light of established truth; at which stage the further necessity will arise of (1) Recognising it as a part of truth, (2) Viewing it in relation to the existing structure of theological knowledge, (3) Finally referring it, if possible, to its proper context within the theological setting.

I say, if possible, because it may be necessary to hold two truths side by side, truths which appear to us incompatible, but which in the fuller light of a later knowledge and of another day may come to be duly related and harmonised. That two truths belonging to two respective departments cannot be reconciled here

and now is no necessary proof that this can never be. And, on the other hand, a careful distinction has to be observed between hypotheses, however specious, and demonstrated results. I have made some further allusion to this in another chapter; meantime, I am not proposing to myself the ambitious and, at this time, unnecessary task of attempting to reconcile the respective truths of physical and theological science. This work, so far as it was necessary to attempt it, has been achieved for us by great thinkers, such as Newman, James Mozley, and in more recent times by Aubrey Moore. The question as to whether either of these sciences has been destroyed by the other will find its best answer in the fact that both alike are before us and are very much alive; and that for greatness and distinction in their several exponents it would be easy from either side to produce names, man for man, equal to any that could be produced from the other.

This is the most eloquent form that reconciliation can take.

But it may be interesting to set down a few parallels that have appealed to my own mind, and a few principles which experience has taught us in regard to what may be called the great double movement of the last Century; and thereby incidentally, if not directly, to show how it is that we have come into more or less still waters after passing through stormy seas.

## II.

The parallel movements in the respective planes of Theological and Physical Science constitute an interesting illustration of a saying of James Mozley, that no one idea is allowed to have the ground entirely to itself in any age. And, as I have elsewhere said, John Henry Newman appears to occupy the same position, so far, in relation to Theological as Charles Darwin does to Physical Science.

Both were men of extraordinary power, loveable in character and devoted to truth; and it is interesting to remember that Newman's mind was running upon developments "many years before the scientific conception of Biological evolution had been explained and illustrated by Darwin and Wallace."

Thus development is, I think, the characteristic note in each case; Newman giving us his variations upon the Theological organ, and Darwin upon the organ of Physical Science; unsettlement being the immediate result in both cases.

To deny the doctrine of special creations seemed at first sight like an attack upon the doctrine of creation as such; and until men were able to open their minds to the conception of a wider teleology, it appeared as though the doctrines respectively of Evolution and Creation must represent antithetic and mutually exclusive ideas.

And so in the Ecclesiastical plane, the mere suggestion that the Oxford Movement would have for its ultimate outcome the reunion of the two Provinces of Canterbury and York with the Holy See; or to put the same thought into a different shape, the prospect of Newman's conversion under the special circumstances of those days seemed like the *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole Movement. What happened in the earlier days of the Evolution controversy has been vividly described for us by Stirling.

"As we all know," he writes, "all in England is done by parties and everything that appears in England is of no use whatever until it is made an affair of party. It was not different with the origin of species. Creation or Evolution became the party question of the day; and it was debated at a temperature that was perfectly suffocating. Lecture rooms rang with the subject and not a periodical in the Kingdom but glowed red hot with it."

Furthermore, Darwinians were lightly and unthink-

ingly described as "Atheists," and language was freely used on both sides which it is not pleasant now to recall. So again in turning to the Ecclesiastical movement we find the same suffocating atmosphere at the outset, the same odious calling of names, the same tendency to panic, and the same progress in spite of all. "Oxford heretics," "Jesuits in disguise," "Agents of Satan," "Snakes in the Grass," "Tamperers with Popish Idolatry," are only some of the opprobrious epithets applied, some sixty years ago, to the Tractarians.

Mr. Wilfrid Ward has pictured the scene in the Sheldonian Theatre for us, when his father delivered his famous speech at a Meeting of Convocation, of which Stanley wrote: "In that infuriated assembly, infuriated on both sides by the passions of the contending parties, action was the only course."

"The whole cycle of Roman doctrine" proved as intolerable at that time as the hypothesis of Evolution; the one being supposed to lead to sheer unbelief, and the other to nothing but an odious superstition.

When Robert Wilberforce received the first hint from Newman of his possible conversion his answer disclosed the emotion under which he was writing. "I don't think," he wrote, "that I ever was so shocked by any communication that was ever made to me, as by your letter." And the extent of this shock gives us, I think, a fair measure of the vastness of the revolution which was destined ultimately to result from Newman's momentous change.

Half a century has run out since the *Development of Doctrine* and the *Origin of Species* were elaborated; originators and champions alike—Newman and Ward, Darwin and Huxley—all have gone to their rest; but their influence survives in the shape of those principles to which they devoted their lives; and while none of us can see into the future, if it is true that the present is in one sense pregnant with its issues, a modified Darwinism seems likely to be the outcome in the one sphere



and Reunion, ultimately, with the Holy See in the other.

### III.

It would be interesting to pursue this parallel and I will add one or two more instances for the benefit of those who may not have observed them :—

Darwin says, in his *Origin of Species* :—

"On my return home (from his voyage on board H.M.S. Beagle) it occurred to me, in 1837, that something might perhaps be made out of this question by patiently accumulating and reflecting on all sorts of facts which could possibly have any bearing on it. After five years work (1842) I allowed myself to speculate on the subject, and drew up some short notes; these I enlarged in 1844 into a sketch of the conclusions which then seemed to me probable . . ."

Newman writes in his *Apologia* :—

"Thus I am brought to the principle of development of doctrine in the Christian Church to which I gave my mind at the end of 1842. I had made mention of it in the passage which I quoted many pages back in *Home Thoughts Abroad*, published in 1836; and even at an earlier date I had introduced it into my history of the Arians in 1832. . . .

"In 1843 I began to consider it attentively. I had begun my essay on the *Development of Doctrine* in the beginning of 1845."

A parallel is suggested also between the two champions in their relation to the respective movements, though not in their relation to their respective heads; William George Ward being, so far, to Newman what Huxley is to Darwin.

Ward had "no doubt whatever" about his own interpretation of Galatians ii. Any attempt, he said, to differ from it would "terminate in signal failure;" and we all remember what used sometimes to be called the "Vaticanism" of Huxley.

On the whole and having regard to the two leaders,

Newman and Darwin may be said to have busied themselves with origins and developments; the former pursuing his research in the plane of spiritual and the latter in the plane of material phenomena.

The whole of revelation was deposited by our Lord in the minds of the Apostles; there was the germinal word; and the development of this word declared itself from time to time in the subsequent announcements of the Church. Thus in speaking of the Papal Church and viewing it, as he says, with "secular eyes," he writes:—"Our Lord seeing what would be brought about by human means, even had He not willed it, and recognising from the laws which He himself had imposed upon human society that no large community could be strong which had no head, spoke the word in the beginning, as He did to Judah, 'Thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise,' and then left it to the course of events to fulfil." Is not this suggestive of the germ plasma in the physical sphere and its subsequent development and history? In each case at the outset we recognise existing facts and work back to their beginnings; finding ourselves at length, and by an effort of imagination, in the Apostolic Age in the one instance and "in the beginning"—in the other. But in either case the germ is hid from our eyes.

"The event which is the development," Newman says, "is also the interpretation of the prediction;" and Aubrey Moore, in speaking of Evolution, says that a creature is what it is capable of becoming. Newman is as interested in observing the several types of religious character and the various stages through which they pass on their way to their final manifestation as Darwin is in regard to animal types; and the seventh Chapter of the Grammar of Assent might well serve as the proper introduction to the study of comparative religion.

"It is conceivable," he writes, "that a man might travel in his religious profession all the way from heathenism to Catholicity, through Mahometanism, Judaism, Uni-

tarianism, Protestantism, and Anglicanism without any one certitude lost but with a continual accumulation of truths. . . ."

#### IV.

One more parallel I am tempted to adduce, as suggestive of Newman's exquisite powers of insight.

The reality of unconscious cerebration is familiar to all of us; and if we place a passage from Newman side by side with one from Carpenter, the great Physiologist, how interesting each will appear in the light of the other; especially as I believe, the discovery of this particular form of activity is generally associated with the name of the latter.

Carpenter writes, *Mental Physiology*, p. 516:—

"Mental changes of whose results we subsequently become conscious may go on below the plane of consciousness, either during profound sleep, or while the attention is wholly engrossed by some entirely different train of thought."

This was written in 1852.

Newman writes, *Loss and Gain*, pp. 202, 206:—

"It is impossible to stop the growth of the mind. Here was Charles with his thoughts turned away from religious controversy for two years, yet with his religious views progressing, unknown to himself, the whole time. . . . What a mystery is the soul of man! Here was Charles, busy with Aristotle and Eurypides, and Lucretius, yet all the while growing towards the Church, 'to the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ.'"

This was written in 1848.

#### V.

Now, over and beyond the interest of this parallel as such, it is easy, I think, to put one's finger here upon a suggestive point.

The principle of development which is common to both spheres necessarily modifies, so far as we recognise and accept it, the appeal to antiquity. Although an infant contains within himself all his possibilities it is no easy matter at the outset to determine precisely what these are or how they will work out. But you come to know them better with the advance of time and as circumstances call them into play.

There is a sense, then, in which it is true that corporations, like individuals, may be said to be what they are capable of becoming, and we may know the meaning and purpose of their powers better as time goes on than we did at the outset. Their identity is preserved so long as their powers develop from within and no attempt is made to foist upon them forms of power, which are foreign and from without. Thus in regard to a visible head the fact that there has been one who has expressly claimed to be such in the Christian Church for at least 1500 years must influence our judgment when we are attempting to determine the general position of the Apostles and the particular relation of St. Peter to the rest. In other words, we must not shut ourselves up within the New Testament and require a complete picture in miniature of the Church as we see it now. A man puts forth his powers when they are called into play, and we are wont to exclaim that we shall now see what he is made of; but until they are so elicited it is not easy thus to know him.

It is not, for instance, in England and the later centuries only as we know, that appeals were made to Rome; but whenever they were so made the inevitable effect was to extend the range of her interests, and to throw her back upon herself and upon her resources. A beggar comes to us in the street and asks for money; we feel in our pockets to ascertain how much we have to give. He goes on to ask our advice as to his best route and we feel in our minds after the knowledge which may guide him. The total result, perhaps, is that we know

our mental and pecuniary resources now better than we did before. So it is easy, of course, to show that the Holy See apparently exercised no formal jurisdiction beyond a certain area at a given point of time, and easier still perhaps to show that from time to time attempts were made by those outside herself to restrict her within those limits. But it is also possible to show that as time went on appeals were made to her far beyond those limits, until the limits themselves gave way. Those who make these appeals declare that they must have someone to whom they can turn; others who are jealous of the foreign court, whether for good or bad reasons, exclaim that it was at such and such a time that the "mischievous habit of making appeals" to Rome commenced.

But all alike are thrown back upon first principles and upon actual resources when everything around them is falling into confusion. And this is our case at the present. We are not impatient necessarily or despondent because we find ourselves forced to reconsider the entire question of the government of the Church. We merely say God is not the author of what we see; this confusion cannot properly belong to His original plan; let us carefully examine that plan again. And since it is God's way to bring good out of evil if we will but wait upon His providence, it seems likely that the disorganised condition of the Church in England at the present moment may be destined to prepare the way for an altogether better order of things in the future.

In any case if we find the same difficulty in the interpretation of the Fathers, as we do in the interpretation of Scripture; and if the difficulty is found to persist until we come to the conclusion that the fault may lie not in the text as such but in the attitude we adopt towards it, in the principle, that is, which guides us in our own interpretations—and this I think we do find; one person arguing with his hand upon the text itself and the other viewing it through the various glasses

composing the telescope of tradition—is it not natural to reconsider a formula, the working of which we have ample opportunity of observing on a large scale outside our own country and to an appreciable extent within? And this we are especially encouraged to do when we find that St. Vincent of Lerins, himself the recognised champion of the “*Quod semper . . .*” recognises a certain form of development; that our own Bishop Butler appears also to do likewise; and furthermore, and over and beyond all, that our Lord is constantly illustrating spiritual truths from what may be described as the sphere of natural science, and, more particularly, that He compares the life of the Church to the gradual spread of leaven and the gradual growth of a tree.

## VI.

However this may be, we observe in these parallel movements a division of labour in regard to which, had it been left in the hands of the respective leaders, it is scarcely too much to say that there would have been few or no collisions.

Newman's forecast of the entire Agnostic movement so far as it was destined to adopt an aggressive attitude towards religion deserves, I think, to be more carefully read and studied than it hitherto has been. Meantime the guiding principle, with him, was that each department should have free scope so far as that might be possible, and that each should confine itself to its own proper line; and he even went so far as to utter a warning on the occasion of one of the earlier meetings of the British Association to the effect that if professors of physical science allowed themselves to begin by declaring their belief in the Almighty God as a conclusion from researches in their own department they would end by denying Him altogether; a forecast that was subsequently fulfilled in the days of controversy between 1860 and 1880—such a profession, he would

have said, was *extra artem*; and this is, I imagine, the tacit understanding which underlies the deliberations of all such scientific assemblies at the present day. The systematic treatment of the question of final causes belongs to another department; it is only confusing the question, then, to introduce it in its wrong place. Certainly in the case of Charles Darwin we have his own word for it that he did not recognise in his own theory any contradiction of the central truth of all religion; and a quotation from Butler appears, as we know, on the first page of the *Origin*; and it is agreed that if later on he fell out of touch with dogmatic religion, although he preserved his kindliness of temper to the end, "Atrophy" is the word that best explains it; that is, that the division in his case became so far unhappy because his own department absorbed him quite. And when we turn to the other leader, we find that as far back as the year, 1855, four years, before the *Origin of Species* appeared, Newman deliberately laid down a philosophical position which everyone can appreciate now: "Great minds need elbow room, not indeed in the domain of faith but of thought. And so indeed do lesser minds, and all minds. There are many persons in the world who are called, and with a great deal of truth, geniuses. They have been gifted by nature with some particular faculty or capacity; and while vehemently excited and imperiously ruled by it, they are blind to everything else. They are enthusiasts in their own line, and are simply dead to the beauty of any kind except their own. Accordingly they think their own line the only line in the whole world worth pursuing, and they feel a sort of contempt for such studies as move upon any other line." This is what I have elsewhere called mistaking a part for the whole. Indeed one secret of a specialist's work is for the time being to allow it to absorb him quite; but there is a subsequent step which is not so easy for him, namely to lift his eyes and to realise once more the whole wide world around him

from which he has been temporarily withdrawn, and to view his own results in relation to results that are presented from elsewhere.

This was the subject of a little quarrel between Tyndall and Mozley. Mozley pointed out that because some one person alone is able to obtain results in his department of knowledge it does not therefore follow that another cannot exercise his reason upon those results when once they have been obtained. Newman would leave men to work on in their several departments, and let time be the great interpreter. But he does not leave the matter here; rather he concludes with an impressive caution, which is never out of place in any age. "I am supposing in the scientific enquirer, a due fear of giving scandal, of seeming to countenance views which he does not really countenance and of siding with parties from whom he heartily differs. I am supposing that he is fully alive to the existence and the power of the infidelity of the age; that he keeps in mind the moral weakness and the intellectual confusion of the majority of men; and that he has no wish at all that any one soul should get harm from certain speculations to-day, though he may have the satisfaction of being sure that those speculations will, as far as they are erroneous or misunderstood, be corrected in the course of the next half century." I have thought it better to omit nothing from this last paragraph inasmuch as it is, I think, through the door of this supposition that the principle of the Index finds its proper entrance.

#### SECTION VI.—THE CHURCH AND DISSENT.

Many other illustrations of divisions might be adduced, of course; and I will venture upon one or two remarks upon the subject of Church and Dissent, and



upon the broader subject of Christendom and Heathendom. And first as regards the latter division. There is a certain mode of viewing this question which tends towards Reunion, and there is another way of approaching it which tends to promote separation.

The point that I have in my mind and to which I would call attention is the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Spirit; I use the word "Catholic" in its widest sense.

We may regard Christendom on the one side and Heathendom on the other, as occupying two distinct and stereotyped departments; the one dwelling in the light, the other walking in darkness; God has shown Himself to the one, He has concealed Himself entirely from the other.

Thus the Heathen nations have been abandoned to their own natural powers; they have been groping in the dark, and their so-called religion has thrown itself into all manner of fantastic shapes and grotesque forms.

We may view the division thus. On the other hand a truer way would seem to be that which represents the energy of the Holy Spirit as going on all over the world; working in individual souls and in what are described as false systems, leading men through various stages ultimately into the home and household of that Church which our Lord Himself established upon this earth. If this be the right view we might say, that the Holy Catholic Church is the normal home of the Holy Spirit's working. He dwells in the society as such and He comes in the Sacrament of Confirmation to take up His abode in the temple of each several soul. Thus the Sacraments are the normal channels of His grace, as the entire Church is His normal home. But He also passes out through the door of the Church into the wide world outside and in some sense condescends even to the false systems of men, drawing individuals more and more to that which is true within those systems and through this leading them on ultimately to the home of all truth.

This serves to illustrate our Lord's own account of Himself as of One who came not to destroy but to fulfil; and it shows us how to understand and to behave towards elements of truth in non-Christian systems. Monks are to be found outside the Church of God, and so is Confession, and Asceticism, and Ceremonial and a priesthood, and much else also that might be named. In the light of the doctrine of which I am speaking all these will serve, in the shape of type and shadow, as confirmations of that anti-type which presents itself in the Church of God.

And so with the language of the Lord's prayer. Almighty God did not then begin to be in His world when He manifested Himself in the Person of Christ and not merely were the words He uttered true because He said them, but He also said them because they were true. Here, again, the principle of proportion may be applied; and we may surely say that since God is everywhere all nations from the first were before His eyes, and had their proper part to play in the workings of His providence; but there was a proportion in that working, and He established a special relationship with one nation first in order that through the medium of that one He might draw to Himself all nations afterwards. The study of comparative religion tends towards Reunion; and the presiding principle of that study would appear to be the Catholic doctrine of grace and the universal as well as particular working of the Holy Spirit.

As regards our Dissenting brethren I have spoken incidentally elsewhere; and here I wish to call attention to a fact and to a principle.

I think it will be allowed that they, with us, have come more and more to realise the value of Catholic teaching. Has there not been visible in their case, as in our own, that imitation which is universally recognised as the sincerest form of flattery. Their recent movement in the direction of federation, the composition

of a Catechism, the use of set forms of prayer—all these find their counterpart in Catholicism or may be said strictly to belong to it. They witness, at least, to the doctrine of Unity, and to the value of dogmatic teaching. The very shape of their places of worship, and the fact that they speak of them as “churches” also point to the same truth.

And the principle to which I allude is the Catholic teaching as to invincible ignorance. There are still some of our brethren who interpret the Catholic doctrine that there is no salvation out of the Church in a sense which would not be admitted either by Anglican or Roman theologians.

And those who, in whatever Communion, too often lightly impute to the Jesuits the immoral doctrine that the end justifies the means will read with some astonishment what one of their eminent theologians lays down on this subject: “A heretic, as long as he judges his sect to be more or equally deserving of belief has no obligation to believe (in the Church).” (Busenbaum, t.l., p. 54, quoted in *Difficulties of Anglicans*).

And Natalis Alexander, a French Dominican, speaks more strongly still: “If, in the judgment of conscience, though a mistaken conscience, a man is persuaded that what his Superior commands is displeasing to God, he is bound not to obey.”

And again, Antonio Corduba, a Spanish franciscan: “In no manner is it lawful to act against conscience, even though a law, or a Superior commands it.”

It is true whether others will believe it or no, that in a pamphlet which lies before me as I write, upon the subject of Reunion, and from the pen of an English Jesuit the passage occurs: “We must not do evil that good may come.”

I am sure that our Dissenting brethren, whether teachers or not, are as anxious to know the absolute truth as we are, and as anxious not to misrepresent others as ourselves; and they will be able to convince

themselves if they are not already convinced that the reality of the Holy Spirit's work in their midst is recognised by Roman Catholics as truly as by ourselves, nor is their separation regarded as a sin until they have come to realise it as a sin, and persist in it afterwards in spite of the light.

Indeed, judging by my own experience, I would almost allow myself to express the conviction that few studies are more likely to draw Romans, Anglicans, and our Dissenting brethren nearer to one another than a thorough-going study of the rights and duties of conscience as they are formally taught and expounded in the Roman Communion.

I will dismiss this part of my subject with one further quotation from Busenbaum (the Jesuit writer) in confirmation of what I have been saying :—

“When men who have been brought up in heresy are persuaded from boyhood that we impugn and attack the word of God, that we are idolators, pestilent deceivers, and therefore are to be shunned as pests, they cannot while this persuasion lasts, with a safe conscience hear us.”

## VII.

I have made some attempt to show how we come to have divisions and how such divisions may become unhappy divisions. The Holy Spirit divides to every man severally as he wills; and it is when we forget this that envy and jealousy spring up in the human breast and lead to contradictions first and schisms afterwards. The poor man envies the rich, or the man of small mind envies the man of great intellect. Or again men are apt to magnify themselves and their gifts at the expense of others and so we come to have departments of knowledge that have become estranged one from another. And so it is on a larger scale and in regard to the unity of the Church, heresy, or the habit of selecting a portion of

the faith and leaving the rest, comes from forgetfulness of the source of faith; it is too easily forgotten that the deposit of faith is entrusted to the Church for her to "keep whole and undefiled," and that the power to believe at all comes from God.

In every aspect of the question the explanation is the same. Our proper dignity comes not from the fact of our having power or from the amount of power we are found to have, but from the fact that God Himself is the giver of it. When this is steadily kept in mind envy and jealousy will be found gradually to disappear, and the spirit of heresy and schism to give place to the divine law of Unity.

In order to confirm what I have said in this chapter as to the loyalty of our Roman brethren it may be well to transcribe the substance of a letter written by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Southwark after our late Queen's death and read from the pulpits throughout the diocese. It is a deliberate utterance addressed by a Roman Catholic to Roman Catholics and provides, therefore, genuine testimony of a character which cannot be gainsaid.

"In a letter which was read at the services in the diocese of Southwark on Sunday, the Bishop (Right Rev. Francis Bourne) says: 'The great sorrow which has come upon this Empire and country by the death of the venerated and beloved Sovereign who has ruled over them through so long a space of years calls to us to raise up our hearts to God, the Supreme Ruler of all peoples and nations, in adoration of His divine decrees and in submission to His adorable will. As we look back over the sixty-four years during which the Queen, who has just passed from us, held the throne of England, we are already able to understand some part of the goodness of Divine Providence in arranging that, during so many momentous years, a woman should rule over the British Empire, and that that woman should be possessed of so lofty a character and of such high ideals.

The past century was the scene of grievous outbreaks against the established order in most of the countries of Europe. Forms of government were changed, and dynasties were set aside. There was at times a spirit of ferment and unrest from which England did not escape altogether. But the fact that there was on the throne a Queen against whose fair repute no true word could be uttered, whose character disarmed the calumniator, and whose life was ever giving an example of those domestic virtues upon which all society is built, was a pledge of peace and security in the civil order at home, and a great bulwark against every attack from without. Later on we shall know in fuller detail, as the history of the past is written, the extent of the Queen's influence and the power which it exerted in England and in the civilized world. We Catholics know how the Faith has spread, how our rights have been recognized, and how almost entire equality of treatment in religious matters has been given to us during the reign that has closed. For all these things we give thanks to God, and bless and praise Him for every gift that has come to us through the Sovereign that we lament. We rejoice that her reign was so prolonged, and that her end was without pain, surrounded by all those whom she loved best on earth. May God in His goodness console them to whom this loss brings not only a national but a private and intimate grief. A new year and a new century have just begun, and God has been pleased that this time should be marked by the opening of a new reign as well. Beg God, dear children in Jesus Christ, by Whom kings reign, and law-givers decree just things, to look down upon our King, and to make him in all things obedient to that Divine guidance for his own salvation and his people's sake. May his example and life be a model to the people of his country; may he have health and strength to fulfil his charge; may England under his rule be blessed by God and worthy of her position in the world. Most earnestly must we im-

plore those gifts from God, as we commit our King, our country, and ourselves to His Fatherly care. "Domine, saluum fac Regem nostrum Eduardum, et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te." With these thoughts in our mind, we hereby enjoin that from Sunday next until March 1st the Collects "Pro quacumque necessitate" be added in every Mass, whenever the rubrics permit, and that the prayer "Deus, refugium nostrum et virtus" be sung at Benediction.'"

## CHAPTER V.

### HINDRANCES AND HELPS.

There are certain ways of viewing the question before us which may conveniently be termed principles of recovery ; principles, that is, which by their very nature tend to promote reunion. And the first of these to which I shall allude and which I have kept constantly before my eyes throughout this Essay is the principle of proportion.

#### SECTION I.—PRINCIPLES OF RECOVERY.

1. Proportion. This principle may be brought to bear, for instance, upon the question of nationalism.

(a) There is no denying the prejudice that even now is found to exist, especially in the English mind owing to its insular position, against certain races and nations. Their climate, their customs, their characters, their whole way of looking at life is different in some cases from our own ; and we fret under this and even resent it. And yet the same God made the Italians, the Spaniards, the Portuguese or whatever other nation we may have in our minds ;—the same God who made ourselves also made them. The eyes of the Lord rest upon all His creatures and not merely upon some ; and a Catholic Church must embrace all nations.



The principle of proportion, then, seeks so to view the situation, and therefore aims at adjustments rather than alternatives. It reasons thus—we have our virtues, certainly; a love of truthfulness, of freedom, a dread of unreality, no taste for overmuch pomp; but on the other hand we have our faults also; habits of intemperance, our full share, too, of immorality, and we are constantly fighting and disputing in the things of religion. Another nation will be naturally less truthful, but more temperate; less proud, and yet perhaps more gifted. And so throughout, as we look from one nation to another we shall see how God divides to every nation, as well as to every individual within it, severally as He wills. The sins of one are balanced by the gifts of another; there is variation and therefore on the whole compensation also. So again in the course of history every nation has its day, so that comparisons and contrasts must be made accordingly. Spain has been great even if she be not great now. So it is that nations rise and fall; and the principle of proportion leads us to view things at a distance both of time and space, if we are to see them in their true perspective; it is therefore a Catholic principle and will be found to raise us to the proper level of the Catholic idea. Space must be made within a Catholic Church for all; and we must learn to give and take here as elsewhere.

- (b) Again, there are scandals in the Church and they become a perplexity to the mind. In the light of this principle, then, we shall be led to ask what is the proper function of scandal? Is there any point at which it may be said to justify separation? The lives of some Popes, for instance, have been shocking; but simply to contemplate them and not also to contemplate the lives of rulers who were good, is to see them out of their true proportion. Are we not compelled so to view the many scandals among ourselves?

The character of a John XII appears black as hell,

and his life is soaked in sin; but, on the other hand, Benedict VIII comes upon the scene later on, and lightens this darkness, and is described as fearing "neither weariness nor exertion to restore to his high office the value it had lost."

Then come two bad Popes in succession; after which we have Gregory VI, and next after him the Pope who has been described as the "holy athlete of the Christian faith," the great Hildebrand (Gregory VII).

The greatness of this Pontiff appears from the first to have been stamped upon his very front. "*Iste puer magnus erit coram domino*," was the prophetic comment of St. Odilo, the Abbot of Clugny; and his words were subsequently fulfilled by the two great acts of reformation that are associated in our minds with Hildebrand's name. He freed the Church from some of the more dangerous feudalising influences of the time; cleansed it, so far as he could, of simony and incontinency; and stamped out the abuse of lay investiture. Let anyone think steadily of all that we owe, that the whole Church owes to the spirit of this one Pope for the great and far-reaching work that he achieved for it; and the value of balancing the evil with the good will appear at once.

Nothing, indeed, is more difficult than to rid ourselves of the surprise we feel at sin.

This is one of the great arguments, in natural religion, for God, and righteousness, and Heaven; that scandals in the Church and beyond it, although no age that we can recall has been without them, still shock the mind and continue to be a constant source of amazement and perplexity to us; and our first impulse is to attribute them to the institution and not to the individual. Indeed, a considerable number of schisms in the Church can be traced to the fact of these shocks and to the further fact that men did not give themselves time to get over them. Thus the spirit of a certain kind of divine statesmanship has to be cultivated before we can enter fully

into the significance of our Lord's words, "Let both grow together until the harvest."

The temptation to meddle with institutions rather than to purify them as they stand has to be constantly watched and steadily resisted. Our Lord Himself lays down the principle and points to the circumstances of His own day in illustration of it. "It must needs be that offences come but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh." Thus in this actual world we must train ourselves to expect, though not to acquiesce in, scandals. "Have not I chosen you twelve and one of you hath a devil?" And again, "The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat, therefore do whatsoever they bid you, but do not ye after their works; for they say and do not." This, then, is what I mean by the proper function of scandal; we are to beware of it in the matter of example, but it must not be suffered to destroy the technical uses of office and authority.

The clergy, if I may be allowed the use of a common phrase, were a "shocking set" in our Lord's day, and He constantly speaks of them in the language of withering scorn and fierce censure; and yet He bids the people obey them—"They sit in Moses' seat, therefore. . . ."

Let any one rightly enter into the meaning of our Lord's "therefore" and he will have absorbed into himself a great lesson in government. The "therefore" is attached to Moses' seat, and not to Moses' sins.

On the other hand the heretical principle fastens upon the person and not upon the office, and declares "I am of Paul" or "I of Apollos;" and the same principle which attaches us to a good leader to-day separates us from a bad successor to-morrow.

One Pope, John XII, appears to have been accused publicly and, as a Roman Catholic layman has the candour to allow, "apparently on too good grounds," of "homicide, perjury, sacrilege, and incest," not to mention other crimes. True; but the principle of proportion will

recall the case of David who committed the double sin of adultery and murder ; and yet apart from this David was a man after God's own heart.

And so throughout the length and breadth of Church history and indeed of all history—the necessity, hard to fulfil but inevitable nevertheless, of carrying on institutions in spite of individual men and not merely by means of them is borne in upon our minds by the weight of irresistible evidence from every institution and every quarter of the world.

A careful study of the true proportion of sinners as compared with saints will prepare and train us not to despair when even among the chosen twelve a Judas is found to come up and to betray the Saviour of Mankind, but to take fresh heart again and straightway choose another, in the person of Matthias, to succeed him.

Just as the world, then, is full of scandals, and the lamentations, mourning and woe that follow upon them, and yet suicide or the act by which we cut ourselves off from it, is sin ; so on the smaller scale of institutions within the world we must be prepared to endure in spite of that succession of shocks which scandal will certainly inflict upon us, and not to let them betray us into schism.

The exactions and abuses of the Middle Ages were real, of course, and in some aspects of them, continuous ; but were they more serious in themselves or in their consequences than the wickedness of Henry VIII in taking advantage of them.

And quite recently a layman belonging to another country which has prided itself on its desire to shake off the clerical yoke speaks of a "system of taxation which might have been suggested by the Holy Inquisition," and which "extorts two milliards of lire yearly from a country which hardly produces five milliards yearly."

I am not attempting to do up this difficult sum ; I am merely calling attention to a principle which, because its tendency is to cement rather than to separate,

must ever be a friend to the cause of Reunion; and scandals must be reduced to their true proportions if peace is ever to be recovered in Christendom.

Nor is it true to say that it is Rome's obstinate refusal to reform herself that compels us to hold aloof from her.

Preaching before the University of Oxford some twenty years ago, Dr. Liddon made use of language which it is well to quote, not merely in illustration of this, but as expressing, as nearly as any words can express, the standpoint of my argument :

"The Roman Church herself," he said, "as any student of the earlier sessions of the Council of Trent may discover, has profited by the Reformation within such limits as were possible; and no believer in Christ can cease to hope, though it be against appearances, that a day may come when she, the largest division of the Christian Church, may yet more widely profit by it; that she may virtually abandon untenable positions, without forfeiture of her historic continuity, and that she may thus undertake to reunite the scattered worshippers of the Redeemer in one visible fold."

The first Session of this Council, let it be remembered, was in 1545 and the last in 1564; the former date being two years before the death of Henry VIII, and the latter, five years after the crowning of Elizabeth.

"Profited by the Reformation within such limits as were possible"—that precisely hits the point at which I am aiming—The possibilities of reform at any particular point of time must be regarded as limited; otherwise it will develop into revolution.

At the second session of the Council, for instance—to quote one passage—it was said :

"As it becometh Bishops to be without reproach, prudent, chaste, and ruling well their own house—it is enjoined that before all things there be sobriety at table, and moderation in eating, and to hinder idle discourses, that parts of the Scripture be read at meal time. They are to warn their servants and retainers, to observe be-

coming behaviour, to avoid occasions of sin, and in dress and bearing to give that good example of righteousness expected from the servants of the servants of God."

"In this manner the light of Catholic truth shall shine amid the darkness of the heresies which these many years have spread in many places and through the help of Jesus Christ the true light, whatever needs reformation shall be reformed. . . ."

This is not the language of a Church that is incorrigible.

- (c) Another consideration appears in the scientific aspect of this problem; and the question of environment comes in—How far, for instance, in such an atmosphere of feudalism as was just now referred to—how far is it possible consistently with that limited freedom which belongs to man, for any one person to rise above the level of his own age? There may be one Hildebrand, then, but not many.
- (d) Again, apply the principle of proportion to the question of the Sunday Service. Our Churches are restored, and the restoration, perhaps, is welcomed by Churchmen of various schools. The Altar is raised to a higher level than any other ornament of the Church; is not the Service of the Altar, then, intended to be conspicuous among the other Services; is not the Eucharist intended to be the Central Service of the Church? Let the proportion of Services, then, cohere with the proportions of the building. Once more if Catholic teaching makes much of ceremonial does it not also make much of private confession? To fasten attention, then, upon the outward, visible form of worship and not to recognise the care that is bestowed upon personal religion is to view the ceremonial aspect out of its proper setting and so to misjudge it.

Must every "Evangelical" Christian in England per-

force consider himself a stranger to the Catholic Faith, if the one service that the latter ever seeks to offer is the service of the Precious Blood, and the one Sacrament it is constantly insisting upon is nothing else but the application of that blood for the forgiveness of sin?

(e) I am tempted to add one other illustration. In regard to the Government of the Church the principle of proportion would predispose us to look for a visible head: although, of course, I am not pretending that it can by itself establish the proof of his existence.

If we contemplate the various degrees in the hierarchy from the lowest to the highest we shall find ourselves reasoning thus: A parish is a circle within the diocese, and an incumbent sits at its centre; a diocese is a circle within the province, and a Bishop sits at its centre; a province comprises many dioceses, and a Metropolitan sits at its centre; the Church comprises many provinces and ——— .

Proportion certainly inclines us to look for a point, for a climax, for a final court of appeal.

The principle can be variously and extensively applied; but the illustrations I have adduced will, so far, serve to show how often heresy grows out of one-sided views of truth, and how the principle of proportion will tend to restore the balance.

2. Continuity. The theory of Continuity may serve as another principle of recovery; its aim being to show that the Church of England in the present is substantially in line with the Church of England in the past. Now to such a principle as this the abrupt and revolutionary acts of the sixteenth century will come as a shock, and it will be disposed to leave them on one side and to move along the plane of principles. Here the line will be found clear, for the Reformers expressly direct us to the teaching of primitive times. Meantime, in the light of ideas such as development and of a more exact knowledge of early times, we may find that in

the very act of adopting a Reformation principle we shall be compelled to modify the application which the Reformation was led to give to that principle. In any case, if continuity cannot penetrate into pre-Reformation days through the legislative Acts of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, it will force a passage through the Ecclesiastical principles of those times.

The theory of continuity is opposed to the theory of the clean slate; the notion, that is, that by some possible Council in the future a fresh start may be made again as though from the beginning; Rome contradicting her formal dogmatic positions; and all Christians frankly going back upon their past.

And I think it will be allowed that if some measure of a corresponding degree of strength or rather of weakness, having to do with civil as distinguished from ecclesiastical affairs, were to be introduced into the House of Commons it would be at once laughed out of it again; all that could be said for such a project being that in the abstract it is not impossible. Meantime for all practical purposes it is vain.

I have already said how experience appears to be against such a theory of recovery; and in a question of such vast magnitude and involving so many millions of human beings and reaching so far back into the past; in the case of a Communion like that of Rome, with the weight of precedent that it has behind it, and the principle of Conservatism which has so consistently governed it, the suggestion in this instance of the clean slate may I think be pronounced unpractical; such a remedy if it could be set in motion being almost too awful to contemplate when one remembers all that it would involve, and likely in the event to prove worse than the disease it was intended to cure.

On the other hand, to make some attempt to recover a relation which in view of the long history of the Church is comparatively recent, and to strike into a movement in the hope not of formally changing but of



practically modifying and bringing about an adaptation of it—this, I think, regarded as a principle of recovery has experience on its side.

And—to revert to one particular application of it—I cannot see why the subject of St. Peter's Primacy, and of the Holy See regarded as a Visible Centre which is the outcome of that Primacy, should not come before us as a subject I do not say of controversy but of conference—two attitudes which may I think be regarded as diverse in their results as well as distinct in their operations.

In this case, as in the case of the principle of proportion, if it could be shown in the first instance that a visible Head appears in the Gospels in the Person of our Saviour Himself and subsequently in the person of St. Peter as so far stepping into His place; and if in the earliest ages of the Church the bishop of the Holy See is found to address himself to the whole Church, and to claim so to do as the successor of St. Peter;—in that case I cannot see why such a fact, if fact it be, should not win for itself a genuine position, and establish its claim to be recognised as an essential portion of the teaching belonging to any communion that claims to be Catholic; and all this by means of a process that would be understood to be at once fair and constitutional.

However this may be the principle of Continuity claims by its very nature to place itself in line with the past; and I am persuaded that the more carefully we examine into that past the more surely shall we find how much nearer we might be to our Roman brethren than in fact we are.

3. Contact. The principle of Contact is another principle of recovery. Contamination is a fact which is recognised everywhere, and I shall have occasion to allude to it later on in a particular connexion. Where a bodily disease tends to propagate itself we are warned against contagion. And in the sphere of what is known as personal influence where two individuals are constantly

found together we speak of the good or evil influence of the one telling almost imperceptibly upon the other. The Psalmist describes groups of wicked men as holding all together and keeping themselves close.

But the power of Contact for the purposes of propagating faith or heresy is not sufficiently realised ; and in these later days we are apt in one breath to criticise the principle of excommunication as exercised in the Greek or Roman Communion, and in the next to complain that we cannot ourselves see a way to compose our quarrels. But the principle of excommunication witnesses [to the power of Contact for evil, and makes straight for it to destroy it.

And as regards the power of Contact for good, while it is everywhere recognised that two cannot walk together except they be agreed, the converse of this is too often forgotten, namely, that they cannot continue to agree except they walk together.

This is abundantly illustrated in everyday life ; correspondence is essential where friendship is to be abiding ; and we must live with people if we are to know them. It is so in the actual world ; to part company is to diverge, not to continue in parallel lines ; and we are apt to say in such cases that we have "lost touch." And certainly the long experience of our unhappy divisions will have convinced us that objections and criticisms, both of which are terms of separation, have a way of developing into habits and multiplying themselves, as it were, mechanically with the mere advance of time.

Now it is here that adjustment is still needed. As I have already pointed out contact has been abundantly established with our Nonconformist brethren on the one side, but much still remains to be done in regard to our Roman brethren on the other.

It is not always remembered that there are varying degrees of Contact ; it is not by any means a question of all or nothing ; and the special circumstances of our own time will be found to help us here.

Barriers are falling in every direction; material barriers, whether of mountain, river, or sea, are yielding to the pressure of scientific invention, and to the habit of foreign travel which it is everywhere found to promote; lines of communication, various and wonderful, are opening up everywhere, and gradually transforming the whole wide world into one vast chamber.

What, then, is the proper function of foreign travel in the progressive enterprise of Reunion? How does such a habit work out?

It means that we find ourselves in other countries, that we come into contact with other minds and with other systems of thought. It means the study of foreign languages, and of racial characteristics; it means personal contact and the consequent breaking down of spiritual and material barriers; it means the dying down of unreasoning prejudice.

The present is an age of Trades' Unions, of Universal Exhibitions, of Federations, of Commonwealths, of United States, and therefore of Reunion. Men seem to be everywhere recognising the duty of preserving contact where they already have it, and of recovering contact where they have lost it.

The situation which supplies the most complete illustration of this—a situation which constitutes at once an unconscious confession and an unflinching symptom of the present age—is that which recurs every ten years at Ober Ammergau, where the Passion Play is acted out in the presence of an audience that is heterogeneous by a cast that is Roman Catholic.

Here we have Catholics, Protestants, and Agnostics gathered together in one place and for the moment at least solemnised and subdued by one significant drama. A remark of mine to a layman who had recently returned from this Play, that it was suggestive of reunion with Rome, elicited the significant reply that "there was so little of what was Roman in it."

All this so far illustrates the principle of Contact as

we see it at work in our midst to-day; and it is impossible for men and women to be unaffected by such functions.

And is it not certain that since our Lord is the Personal Word and that apart from Him was not anything made that was made, all this scientific advance that we are witnessing in our own day, with its progressive triumph over space, is intended in the wondrous and complex operations of His providence to prepare His way before Him, by contributing its own share to the fulfilment of His own words (St. John xvii) and to the carrying out of His divine plan.

It would be easy to multiply illustrations of this principle. The coming over of the French emigré Priests after the Revolution is an instance of Contact and is thought by some to have paved the way for the Catholic Emancipation Bill; and a special instance of the same thing occurs in the life of Cardinal Wiseman. Bunsen had his own peculiar prejudices about Roman Catholics in general and about Overbeck in particular; and in regard to this distinguished representative of the Romantic School in Art he frankly confessed, "immediate intercourse has corrected this impression."

On the whole, then, and on looking back over the past 300 years, if Contact is one of the principal conditions of knowledge, the long period of the Penal Laws which destroyed Contact between ourselves and our Roman brethren will go a long way towards accounting for our prejudices and our numberless misunderstandings in regard to their persons and their principles.

4. Prayer. Prayer may, I think, be called a principle for the purpose that is before us, and, of course, the most important principle of all. In this connection it would be directed towards the recovery of sympathy and the establishment of intercommunion between God and man, and between man and his neighbour. "Incline my heart unto Thy testimonies"—is the prayer of a religious man; secure, that is, a perfect agreement between

my leanings and Thine; or to state the same truth in the language of submission, "Not my will, but Thine be done."

The one proper motive, then, for desiring Reunion and therefore praying for it is,—the will of God as it is made known to us in Christ; and if the desires and yearnings of our Saviour's heart were concentrated with peculiar force and fervour upon this one point,—"that they all may be one," how can it be said that we love Him truly, or that we are one with Him and He with us, if we do not share His yearnings and unite in His prayers.

It is sometimes said that we may pray for Reunion but that we must not allow ourselves to work for it; a somewhat doubtful limitation in the face of our Lord's own words (St. John xvii) and of St. Paul's earnest appeal to us to "all speak the same thing," . . . and to be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment." In one sense, indeed, such a limitation would be found to involve a psychological impossibility; for what is prayer but the outpouring of the deepest yearnings of the soul; and where such yearnings are they must perforce impart a certain set to the activities of the entire man. And if it be said that a distinction is to be drawn between work which is conscious and deliberate and work which flows naturally and unconsciously out of prayer I cannot find any sanction for such a distinction in Holy Scripture.

Is not the general rule that we should not merely pray and wait for an answer, but also pray and work for an answer. "I think I could answer your prayer, father," a child remarked to a parent who was praying very earnestly for a neighbour in distress. "I think I could answer your prayer, father, if you would let me put my hand into your pocket." And so in this connection, every one may find something lying close against him that may be turned to good account.

One may have experienced in his own life and sur-

roundings the terrible evils of unhappy divisions; let this, then, in his case exert its true pressure as a motive. Another, perhaps, has been constrained to correct his prejudices in the light of experience; and he will speak out that others may share his case.

My Evangelical brother prays earnestly and takes definite action in relation to the Moravian and other separated bodies; although my conscience may not allow me entirely to concur in the particular steps he thinks it right to take, I can take definite action, within the lines I have indicated, in the direction of the Holy See.

Everyone has something near at hand and only waiting out to be brought out and put to use.

5. *Explanation.* Explanation signifies the spreading out of truth in order to make it plain; and this is Bossuet's plan for the restoration of unity. I understand him to mean that truth carries its own evidence along with it; and that to exhibit what we believe to be truth so that others may see it in its entirety is the proper method.

So far as it is true, and since truth is made for the human heart, the human heart will respond to it. So far as it is false the clear exhibition of it will enable men to beware of it. Cardinal Manning and the late Bishop of London (Dr. Creighton) both concur in this view.

Three years before his death Manning wrote: "I have been constantly accused of affirming without proving, and asserting without reasoning. It is true. I have believed the office of the Church and of its pastors to be to bear witness, not to argue. Our Lord taught "as one having authority or power, and not as the Scribes." This seems to me precisely the same. The apostles were to be "witnesses" unto Him. But witnesses give evidence, they do not argue. St. John says, "That which was from the beginning (I John i, 1—5). This is the message and declaration that we have received from

Him and declare unto you." St. Paul said, "Our preaching is not in the persuasive words of mere wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit and in power."

Cardinal Newman said :

"So the Apostles tamed the heathen breast,  
They argued not but preached, and conscience did the  
rest."

"I have felt for forty years that a preacher comes a latere Jesu as a herald, and that he can do what others cannot do—assert and affirm, and leave Truth to do work by its own evidence. I have felt also that the surest way to keep error out of men's minds is to fill them with Truth. Destructive writing and preaching ruins and sweeps away. It leaves a space or a void. But assertion and affirmation construct and build up. They fill the mind with Truth, or at least with some intelligible statement. Clearness is evidence. Truth looks out upon the human reason. This appears to me to be the Divine method of showing and perpetuating the Truth."

I am not saying that Dr. Creighton would agree with this statement in its entirety, but how far he would concur in it appears in his own words, shortly before his death. "The way to deal with erroneous opinions," he said, "is to drag them to light, to force them to state themselves definitely, and so prove their scanty basis."

And in order to lend further support to this principle I will quote a passage of a more concrete character from the English translation of Bossuet's *Exposition*, published in 1796. "It is the hope of the translator that the following treatise will help to place his countrymen in that . . . situation, being thoroughly convinced that the doctrines of the Catholic Church, which improperly viewed, may appear distorted and deformed, will show themselves to the intelligent eye by no means disproportional to the truth of the Gospel. We seek but to be known ; and surely in this enquiring age when

the sentiments of the Mussulman, Gentoo, or Indian are eagerly investigated, to ask only this cannot be to ask too much." Again, "If there be one God, one faith, one baptism, truth must be one."

Bossuet himself says: "It has been often remarked that the aversion which our adversaries feel for our sentiments, is occasioned for the most part by false notions which are entertained of them. To state them, then, with simplicity, and to distinguish them with accuracy as defined by the Church in the Council of Trent, will be no unacceptable service to those who wish to judge of us with candour."

I am speaking, of course, of the elucidation of truth; for truth itself is identified with a Person, and we come to know more of truth as we come to know more of Him; the Holy Spirit of God being our Guide throughout, and purity of heart our necessary condition.

But actual life, the very air we breathe, is alive with inherited prejudices, "invincible ignorance," and numberless misunderstandings; so much so that men are found to be more often right in opposing than right in what they oppose.

If for example I believe that a priest claims to forgive sins in his own name I am right in opposing, but where I am wrong is in what I am opposing, for in fact he makes no such claim. To say, then, that he claims to forgive sins only in the name of God, is to make an explanation and thereby to remove a misunderstanding. I now understand his claim although I do not necessarily go on to accept it.

This will show how far explanation carries us and where it stops. Misunderstanding is understanding wrongly; and explanation will enable us to understand aright. The case appears thus: In looking forward to ultimate reunion with the Holy See, the way would seem to be blocked by certain grave hindrances which appear so insuperable as to make the attempted passage hopeless. Such for instance is the teaching of the



Church of Rome on the subject of the Bible and the Rule of Faith ; on the dignity of the Blessed Virgin and the devotions that are due to her ; on the Infallibility of the Pope ; on the use of Indulgences ; and on the restraint she thinks it right to impose upon what is known as liberty of thought.

Such are some of the principal hindrances in the way of reunion ; and in regard to some or all of these we are apt to say that while Rome is what she is that blessed consummation is impossible.

My answer to this, so far, is that before we pronounce judgment we have to be sure that we know what it is we are judging ; and that in regard to the Church of Rome the majority of people will be found to be judging what they do not know.

## SECTION II.—THE RULE OF FAITH.

I will here set down the teaching of the Roman Church, and next one or two passages of Holy Scripture which appear to support that teaching ; and last of all the Rule of Faith as it is understood by the Church of England.

1. Rome. For the teaching of Rome I shall content myself with an authoritative passage from the Council of Trent (First Session, 1545 ; final confirmation 1564) ; and an exposition from the writings of so moderate and representative a teacher as Bossuet.

(a) Council of Trent. "The sacred and holy Œcumenical and General Synod of Trent. . . . Keeping this always in view that errors being removed, the purity itself of the Gospel should be preserved in the Church which (Gospel) before promised through the prophets in the Holy Scriptures, our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, first promulgated with His own mouth and then commanded to be preached by His Apostles

to every creature, as the fountain both of every saving truth and also of the discipline of morals ; and perceiving that this truth and discipline is contained in the written books and in the unwritten traditions, which, received by the Apostles from the mouth of Christ Himself, or from the Apostles themselves, the Holy Ghost dictating, have come down even to us, transmitted as it were from hand to hand ; (the Synod) following the example of the orthodox Fathers, receives and venerates, with equal affection of piety and reverence, all the books both of the Old and also of the New Testament—seeing that one God is the author of both—as also the said traditions, both those appertaining to faith as well as those appertaining to morals, as having been dictated either by Christ's own word of mouth or by the Holy Ghost, and preserved by a continuous succession in the Catholic Church."

- (b) Bossuet : "Jesus Christ having laid the foundation of His Church by preaching, the unwritten word was the first rule of Christianity, and when the writings of the New Testament were added this unwritten word did not on that account lose its authority ; which makes us receive with equal veneration all that was ever taught by the Apostles whether by writing or by word of mouth, as St. Paul himself has expressly declared."

2. The Bible. There are two passages, at least, of Holy Scripture which appear to give some support to the above position.

II Thess. ii, 15 : "Therefore, brethren, stand fast and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word or by our Epistle."

II Tim. ii, 2 : "And the things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also."

3. The Anglican Position. The 6th Article runs thus: "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation. So that whatsoever is not read therein nor may be proved thereby is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite necessary to salvation. . . ."

And the Canon of Convocation enjoins upon preachers the duty of never teaching "aught in a sermon, to be religiously held and believed by the people except what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments and what the Catholic Fathers and ancient bishops have collected from that same doctrine."

## II.

Now the question is, how far these two ways of stating the Rule of Faith can be brought, as I have elsewhere said, to face one another and perhaps to coalesce.

Fasten your attention steadily upon the two passages of Holy Scripture that I have quoted and say whether it is possible to be faithful to what they say and to what they imply, and still to ignore tradition. In other words may it not be said that they serve as a link between England and Rome.

Does not the Bible, in fact, point us away from itself as well as to itself; does it not discover to us a society that is behind it and in a sense independent of it; does not our Lord Himself speak of—hearing the Church. Is not Scripture "sufficient" to teach us tradition?

In one of the above instances the Thessalonians, living at the point of time when St. Paul wrote, are exhorted to stand fast and to hold what is not written as well as what is written. If then this double duty was necessary for them was it not necessary also for those who came after them? And if this is true does not the plain straightforward teaching of the Bible point to an unwritten tradition outside itself and so far independent of itself?

It may be said that the Epistle to the Thessalonians is one of the earlier books of the Bible, and that what was necessary at that point of time ceased to be necessary many years later when the Canon was completed. But however this may be, can it be said that Scripture is "sufficient" in the sense of being its own interpreter? Does not what is called the appeal to Scripture require very careful guarding and explaining? It will not surely be said that what we expound as dogmatic truths from the pulpit are to be put to the test by reference to the Bible; and this by anyone and everyone who hears us, as if we were saying to our people—"That is true, but if you cannot prove it from the Bible you are not required to believe it." The Epistles are not complete statements of dogmatic truth. St. Paul's letter to the Galatians, for instance, alludes to the whole position, but is a very long way from declaring it; and when all the writings are looked at together they are only sufficient when looked at also in relation to the living Church which had been in existence many years before they appeared. "I delivered unto you that which I also received," "The rest will I set in order when I come;" numberless passages might be adduced of the same character. And it is certainly not true that the majority of our people now or at any time in the future that we can imagine would be able to work out for themselves from the Bible the truth as to Infant Baptism, for instance, or Holy Communion, or Confirmation, or questions on Jurisdiction and Order, or on Eternal Judgment, or on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

It may be said that an Anglican as distinct from one who is Protestant merely, recognises a tradition for purposes of interpreting the written text: recognises tradition, that is, as subordinate and subsidiary; whereas the Roman makes tradition a second source of revelation which is understood to be at once equal, parallel and independent.

I have purposely stated this latter position as strongly as I could.

But even here, as to this hermeneutical tradition, it will not surely be said that it is to be found whole and entire within England itself. Surely it is something that we share with others outside. This is important, especially in regard to such passages as the Petrine texts.

Now when we turn to the writings of Anglicans on the one side and of Romans on the other we find them, as is to be expected, looking at this subject each from their own point of view.

But is there any writer forthcoming, someone of name and repute, able to command a hearing from both sides, from the fact that he has viewed the subject from both sides. We have such a writer, I think, in the person of John Henry Newman, whose integrity will be acknowledged by all, and who wrote a defence from the Anglican point of view, and subsequently wrote a defence from the point of view of Rome.

What was Newman's ultimate and deliberate conviction as expressed in his letter to Pusey, in 1864, and again, when he was seventy-six years of age, in a note to one of his later editions in 1877?

"I believe the difference," he says, "is one of words." And again, thirteen years later: "The differences of Rome and England in the question of Scripture and Tradition are, in the hands of Anglican Controversialists, verbal only. Catholic Controversialists while insisting that they need not prove their doctrine from Scripture, always do so prove it; and Anglicans, while insisting that Tradition is unauthoritative treat it with a deference, which is the correlative of authority."

In summing up the question Newman declares that while the Fathers insist in some places on the authority of Scripture, they insist as strongly in others upon the authority of Tradition; and that "At Ephesus for example, the General Council did not refer to a single passage of Scripture before condemning Nestorius, but

principally to the Creed of Nicæa, and to ten or twelve passages from the Fathers. And in the fourth General Council at Chalcedon the language of its members was from first to last "to keep to the faith of Nicæa, of Constantinople, of Athanasius, Cyril, Hilary, Basil, etc., Scripture being hardly once mentioned."

Add to this the fact of the present moment (1901) that earnest students of what is sometimes termed the Higher Criticism are urging upon us the increasing difficulty of believing in the Bible apart from belief in the Church; and then let legitimate motives exert their due pressure; the prayer of our Lord that we should continue to be united in order that the world may believe, and St. Paul's earnest injunction, afterwards, that we should all say the same thing—let the case be thus fairly viewed as a whole and can we not without deserting the frank but subsequently enlightened interpretation of Anglican conditions, return this answer to the anxious enquirer, distracted as he is by the supposed contradictions of his many and various teachers; that in the light of a fuller experience and more especially of recent criticism, the positions of the two Communions, in this respect, will be found to be practically identical. I am not attempting here, of course, to do more than indicate the lines of what would prove, I think, a fruitful discussion.

### SECTION III.—BIBLE READING

The practical question of Bible Reading constitutes with some a more serious difficulty; and I think it will be acknowledged that the Christian Church has suffered here perhaps more than elsewhere from one-sided statements. How gravely misleading it is, for instance, to assert that for purposes of devotional reading Rome forbids the use of Scripture to her children. Such un-

qualified statements are untrue, and therefore should not be made. While the statement one sometimes sees that it is to the interest of the Jesuits to keep the Bible in the background, seeing how fatal its teaching would prove to their extreme ultramontane position; such a statement as this may be shown to err alike against truth and charity.

Another common superstition used to be that the Latin Bible was discovered by Luther about the year 1507, and that it was he and other Reformers after him who led the way in translating the Scriptures in the languages of their respective countries; and that previous to this the Bible was little read by the clergy, who in their turn were anxious, by preserving it only in an unknown tongue, to keep it out of the hands of the laity.

So far, then, as these notions are still entertained it may serve the cause of truth to consider the question first from a historical, and next from a philosophical, standpoint.

## I.

And first as regards the historical point of view, and the actual question of translations.

1. Translations. In the Caxton Exhibition at South Kensington in 1877 a Catalogue of Bibles was on view which effectually disposes of the popular delusion that the Bible was found for the first time by Luther at Erfurt about the year 1507.

A large number of editions of the Latin Vulgate (Bible in Latin) and no fewer than nine German editions of the Bible were to be seen in the Exhibition, all of them belonging to a date prior to the year 1483, the year of Luther's birth; and there are known to have been at least three more editions before the end of the century, that is before Martin Luther had attained his seventeenth year.

It must be remembered, of course, that in those days most people who were able to read at all were able also to read in Latin.

Let us contemplate, then, what may serve as an outline sketch of this situation.

Jannsen provides us with an interesting account of the matter; and I will range the facts one under the other:—

- (1) 1440. Gutenberg's first attempt at cutting out types from blocks of wood.
  - (2) 1450 (about). First book printed entirely with movable types.
  - (3) 1455 (about). The celebrated Mazarin Bible : *Biblia Sacra Latina* was published, 2 vols., folio.
  - (4) 1457. The Psalter appeared.  $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch high; capitals in three colours.
  - (5) 1459. Second edition of Psalter.
  - (6) 1462. Second Latin Bible.
  - (7) 1473. Art of Printing planted in Buda.
  - (8) 1474. Art of Printing planted in London.
  - (9) 1478. Art of Printing planted in Oxford.
  - (10) 1483. Art of Printing planted in Stockholm.  
1483. Koburger's German Bible (with more than one hundred wood engravings by Michael Wolgemut). Fifteen editions of this by the end of century.
  - (11) 1479—1489. Nine editions of the Bible from the Amerbach Press at Basle.  
1483. Birth of Luther,
  - (12) 1490. Art of Printing planted in Constantinople.
  - (13) 1500. Down to the year 1500 (Luther is now seventeen years of age) the Vulgate was published over one hundred times.
- There were fourteen complete Bibles in High German ;  
There were five complete Bibles in Low German down to the Secession of Luther.



Eleven editions of the Psalms before the year 1513.

Twenty-five editions of the Gospels and Epistles before 1518.

Two editions in Spain by the year 1515 (Luther thirty-two years of age), of which one was published with the express permission of the Spanish Inquisition.

Eighteen editions published in French by the year 1547.

This strange superstition about Luther, having found the Bible for the first time at Erfurt, in 1507, originated with Daubigné.

1. I have not attempted to lay down an exhaustive statement. There were in fact more editions than I have named.

2. Bible Reading (*a*). In his *Turning Points of English History* (pp. 200–201) Dr. Cutts writes:—“There is a good deal of popular misapprehension about the way in which the Bible was regarded in the Middle Ages. Some people think that it was very little read even by the clergy; whereas the fact is that the sermons of the mediæval preachers are more full of scriptural quotation and allusions than any sermons in these days; and the writers on other subjects are so full of scriptural allusion that it is evident that their minds were ‘saturated with scriptural diction . . .’ Another common error is that the clergy were unwilling that the laity should read the Bible for themselves and ‘carefully kept it in an unknown tongue that the people might not be able to read it . . . .’ We have the authority of Sir Thomas More for saying that ‘the whole Bible was, long before Wyclif’s days, ‘by virtuous and well-learned men translated into the English tongue, and by good and godly people with devotion and soberness well and reverently read . . . .’ Again on another occasion he says: ‘The clergy keep no Bibles from the laity but such translations as be either not yet approved

for good, or such as be already approved, for naught (bad) as Wyclif's was.'” Such is the testimony of the Lord Chancellor of England of those days, as quoted by Dr. Cutts. It should also be remembered that in the Fourteenth Century, for instance, it was no uncommon thing for a preacher to read the whole of the Gospel to the congregation as the text of his sermon.

In allusion to Wyclif's Bible Dean Hook writes:—“It was not from hostility to a translated Bible, considered abstractedly, that the conduct of Wyclif in translating it was condemned. Long before his time there had been translators of Holy Writ. There is no reason to suppose that any objection would have been offered to the circulation of the Bible if the object of the translator had only been the edification and sanctification of the reader. It was not till the designs of the Lollards were discovered that Wyclif's version was proscribed” (*Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. iii, p. 83).

The *Quarterly Review*, October, 1879, says: “The notion that people in the Middle Ages did not read their Bibles is probably exploded except among the more ignorant of Controversialists. . . . The notion is not simply a mistake . . . it is one of the most ludicrous and grotesque blunders.”

Paintings, stained glass windows, and miracle plays appear to have been the chief instruments used for teaching the truths of Scripture to the greater number of the laity, who were unable, in those days, to read for themselves. In Germany a set of forty or fifty pictures of Bible subjects became so popular and so celebrated as to be described as “The Bible of the Poor” (*Biblia Pauperum*).

It would seem, then, that in regard to the period before the Reformation,

- (1) There were Bibles to read for those who were able to read them, and that no unjust attempts were made to hinder such reading.

(2) Various kinds of ingenious means were devised for teaching the truths of Scripture to those who were not able to read for themselves.

(b) When we turn to modern times, which have a more immediate interest for ourselves, we find the habit of Bible reading more general in some countries than in others, and at one period than at another, according to the circumstances of the people, the conditions of thought, and the rules which the authorities think it right to impose. But in England, especially during the last ten years, the habit of Bible reading among Roman Catholics has been encouraged and carried out to a remarkable extent; and this under the express sanction of the Pope himself. And now to come to concrete instances.

(1) The Bible at home. I have before me, as I write, a small edition of St. Matthew's Gospel, printed in good type with notes by the Very Reverend Canon McIntyre, Professor of Scripture at Oscott College. It is published by the Catholic Truth Society and is a wonderful production for a penny.

On the inner side of the cover the following words are printed: "His Holiness Leo XIII at an audience on December 13th, 1898, with the undersigned Prefect of the Congregation of Indulgences and Relics, made known that he grants to all the faithful who shall have devoutly read the Scriptures for at least a quarter of an hour an indulgence of three days, to be gained once a day provided that the edition of the Gospel has been approved by legitimate authority. Furthermore the Sovereign Pontiff grants monthly a plenary indulgence to all those who shall have read in this way every day of the month. It can be gained on the day of the month when, after Confession and Communion those who shall have fulfilled the conditions shall have offered

up the customary prayers for the intentions of the Holy See.

Given at Rome. on December 13th, 1898,

Cardinal Gotti, Prefect.

The copy before me also has the Imprimatur of Cardinal Vaughan, with date subjoined "Die Julii 2, 1900." It is published by the Catholic Truth Society, and those who are sincere in their belief that our brethren in the Roman Communion are not allowed to read their Bibles, subject to the regulations referred to, may have the evidence to correct this misconception in their own hands by procuring a copy for themselves.

In *The Month*, the Monthly Magazine published by the Jesuits, for October, 1900, the above edition of St. Matthew, is noticed thus:—"The Catholic Truth Society sends us three new publications. The Gospel of St. Matthew is a penny edition of the text, evidently the first of a series now beginning. The notes are not those usually found in editions of the Douay version, but are by Canon McIntyre, and are really clear and helpful, though by the necessity of the case not numerous. On the cover the reader is reminded of Leo XIII's recent grant of Indulgences to those who spend a quarter of an hour daily in reading the Scriptures."

In the course of the past ten years 55,000 copies of the Popular Pocket edition of the New Testament have been sold by Messrs. Burns and Oates; and the following comments will show whether or no the Bishops of the Roman Church in England wish their people to read the New Testament:—

The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster said;—

"I am delighted at your bringing out such a good edition at so low a price."

The Archbishop of Glasgow says:—

"There cannot be two opinions as to the excellent type and the cheap price. Every Catholic ought to have a copy."

The Archbishop of Edinburgh says :—

“I trust your very handsome and handy cheap issue of the Douay New Testament may have a large circulation.”

The Bishop of Argyll and the Isles says :—

“It is certainly wonderfully moderate in price, considering the excellence of the type and the care with which it is got up. It is the edition I use by preference.”

The Bishop of Shrewsbury says :—

“Exceedingly well brought out, and will be very acceptable to our clergy and people.”

The Bishop of Ferns (Wexford) says :—

“It is the cheapest copy of the New Testament ever issued without an appeal for a subsidy. I wish your courage and enterprise every success.”

The Bishop of Middlesbrough says :—

“Wonderfully well got up, and very cheap.”

Of other editions of the New Testament Messrs. Burns and Oates have published about 250,000 copies. Of one of these the Roman Catholic Bishop of Shrewsbury writes :—“It is indeed a goodly volume, and one which, I sincerely trust, will find its way into every Catholic home in the land.”

It will be observed, in regard to the above notices, that one of the Roman Catholic Bishops not merely desires his people to read the Scriptures, but is in the habit of reading them also himself!

I will next transcribe a notice which appears in *Catholic Book Notes* (Catholic Truth Society) on page 112 :—

#### “READINGS FOR SUNDAYS AND HOLYDAYS

Based on the Gospel for the Day.

This is a new series of leaflets, prepared for distribution in churches on the lines of a practice which has recently been adopted in Rome with excellent results. The Gospel for the day is given in full, followed by a Reading, couched in bright and telling language. The

people are invited to take the leaflets home, and to distribute them to their friends or to read them during the week. In this way the Gospel lesson will reach many who are not at the Mass at which the sermon is preached, as well as others who, it may be, have not been present at Mass. At the end of a year they will form a volume embodying a complete course of spiritual reading for Sundays and Holydays.

The leaflets will be provided at 1s. per hundred (9d. to members). They are now ready up to Corpus Christi. The remainder will follow regularly in good time for each day as it comes round. Specimens will be sent on receipt of a stamp for postage."

I have before me, as I write, four specimens of these Readings; and it will be well I think, to reproduce one of them, that for Whit Sunday, in its entirety.

#### WHIT SUNDAY.

"The Gospel (St. John xiv. 23-31).—At that time, Jesus said to His disciples, 'If any one love Me, he will keep My word, and My Father will love him, and we will come to him, and will make our abode with him. He that loveth Me not, keepeth not My words: and the word which you have heard is not mine, but the Father's, who sent Me. These things have I spoken to you, abiding with you: but the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my Name, He will teach you all things, and bring all things to your mind, whatsoever I shall have said to you. Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth, do I give unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, nor let it be afraid. You have heard that I said to you, I go away, and I come unto you. If you loved Me, you would indeed be glad because I go to the Father; for the Father is greater than I. And now I have told you before it come to pass, that when it shall come to pass you may believe. I will not now speak many things with you; for the prince of this world cometh, and in

Me he hath not anything. But that the world may know that I love the Father, and as the Father hath given Me commandment, so do I."

"I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Life-Giver, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son; who with the Father and the Son is adored and glorified: who spake by the prophets."

"In these words of the Nicene Creed, the Church enshrines in the heart of her Eucharistic worship her belief in the Divinity, Eternity and Personality of God the Holy Ghost, third Person of the ever-blessed Trinity."

"Nor could it be otherwise; since He is the Breath of life that she breathes, the Heart whereby she loves; the very life that courses through her veins, quickening, restoring, preserving her; bringing to her remembrance the words of her Lord and Master; guiding her into all truth."

"So to-day, when throughout the world, by every nation and in every tongue, the Feast-day of the Holy Ghost is being kept, let us try to meditate upon Him who, in the inmost Being of God, has been revealing Himself in countless ways to the sons of men from the first day of their creation."

"With God there is no time; He is above time and beyond space. Past, present, and future, as we understand them, lie ever in the vision of His infinite wisdom, inseparable from each other. Yet, for our sakes, lest we should be bewildered and confused, and our understanding darkened, He vouchsafes to be revealed in the ways of human thoughts, and known through human words."

"From what we speak of, then, as the beginning of the world, the Holy Ghost has enlightened the Church to see His workings in the creation and the development of the human race. Before man was, when earth was yet void and formless, the Spirit of God moved over the face of the waters. He breathed the breath of life into man, that he should be a living soul: He made Himself known

under one form after another to the chosen people; leading them as a cloud or a fiery pillar, abiding with them in the glory around the Mercy-Seat; speaking to them through the prophets."

"So He was through the long centuries preparing patiently for Himself an inner shrine, wherein He should accomplish His supreme work, the masterpiece of His power and love. Mary, daughter of the Eternal Father, was to be the undefiled habitation of the Holy Ghost, whom He should overshadow and fill with His glory; so that the "Holy" that should be born of her should be called the Son of God."

"God the Holy Ghost led the Wise Men by the guiding star to the crib of Bethlehem; He was the Dove who hovered over Jesus at His Baptism; He led him into the desert, filling His humanity with strength to fight and conquer. Of Him Jesus spoke, saying that the Spirit breatheth where He will; for His ways are secret, and very deep; and no child of man can fully understand them."

"But to-day He shows himself so plainly that even our dim eyes see, and our dull hearts are moved. For He comes upon His Church in might, and power, and with signs that cannot be mistaken."

"The breath of a mighty wind sweeps through the house where the holy company are gathered together at Jerusalem, and fills the upper chamber where they sit; and upon each one there falls a fiery flake, in shape like to a tongue. Upon Mary, His Spouse, the Holy Ghost comes a second time, making her Mother of the Church as of the Church's Lord; upon each of the Twelve He dwells with life-giving power, "burning not, but enlightening; consuming not, but shining." This is the Fire which Jesus came to cast upon the earth; and it is kindled to-day by the power of His death and resurrection."

"And from that day to this, that Fire has run to and fro among men, melting hard natures, warming selfish



spirits into love, burning in the hearts of saints ; giving to His priesthood courage and eloquence to preach the Gospel mightily."

"And so it will be to the end of the world. For this same Holy Spirit that endued the Apostles with might, and turned their weakness into strength, and their cowardice into the love that dares all things for the sake of its beloved, is to-day, and always, the life-giving energy of the whole Church. His virtue descends into the waters of the font, to make of every baptised soul a strong warrior in the army of Jesus Christ ; He is the living power by which the miracle of the Eucharist is accomplished on a thousand altars, when the simplest gifts of bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ."

"For, as even among men, the nobler the spirit, the more it rejoices to befriend the poor, so this glorious Spirit of God condescends to be the constant Guest and Comforter, not only of the spotless Mother, not only of His Saints, but of every struggling, sinful soul into which He came at Baptism, that has not finally and deliberately hardened itself and turned away its face from Him for all time. "Know you not," says St. Paul, "that you are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you ? But if any man violate the temple of God, him shall God destroy. For the temple of God is holy, which temple you are."

"And the Gospel for this great day tells us the same truth in other words. Our loving Lord desires but one thing of us ; that we will love Him and keep His word. Then He promises, as He has promised before, that the Father too will love us and will abide with us. So, when the Paraclete, who is the Holy Ghost, shall come and dwell in us to teach us all things, our hearts shall be a very heaven upon earth, the favoured dwelling-place of the Blessed Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost."

"What, then, must be to-day our thought and our hope ? And what must our fear be ? What is the only

thing that can separate us from God, and spoil this blessed union?"

"Shall we not pray earnestly at the offering of Holy Mass that we may never again by one deliberate, wilful sin, grieve and drive out the patient Spirit who has borne with us so long, forgiven us so much? And shall we not ask that He may come down upon the Church in His fulness, to guide and strengthen her; and upon each one of us, to change our cowardice into strength, lawlessness into holy self-control, our darkness and ignorance into light and knowledge of Him?"

"Let the red vestments which the priest wears remind us of Him who is the Fire of purity, the burning Heart of love. Let us ask Him with all our heart and soul to burn out all that is false and mean in us, all that is unclean and foul; to work for us in our low degree the same wonder that He worked in His Apostles, that we may be made like them, whose faith and hope and love burned within them as a mighty power all through their lives, from the Day of Pentecost, until, in the glory of martyrdom, the Holy Ghost possessed them wholly, and burned up by His ardent heat every slightest stain; so that in that fierce hour they were made ready for the perpetual vision of their Lord and God in heaven."

"Come, O Holy Spirit, fill the hearts of Thy faithful, and kindle in them the fire of Thy love. Send forth Thy Spirit, and they shall be created: and Thou wilt renew the face of the earth."

(2) The Bible in Schools. I now turn to the question of Bible teaching in Schools:

— Mother —, Sister of Mercy, of —, who has with other nuns, taught in the Catholic Poor Schools of a large town for many years, supplies the following information:—"The children are taught a great deal of Old and New Testament History. Even the infants begin with the Old Testament Story. Higher standards learn parables and miracles by heart, and long passages out of the New Testament."

— A Roman Catholic lady, a convert, Miss F. R. Carr, who kindly allows me to use her name, sends me the following letter from her cousin, a Nun in a well-known convent and school for young ladies in the Midlands:—"About the Bible teaching in our school I can speak, having had the Religious Instructions to give from 1876 to 1899. We have a Diocesan Inspector who gives us our annual examination. Every girl in the Upper School (*i.e.*, all over twelve years or so) has her New Testament, which is used not only to learn our Lord's life, miracles, and parables, but to illustrate the whole course of Dogmatic teaching. They learnt their Sunday Gospels regularly, and other parts such as Matthew xxv, 31; I Cor., xiii, etc., etc. Many could find me a text as quickly as I could myself. Each year we studied either one of the Gospels or the Acts. The Old Testament we never put as it stands into the hands of our girls. They had Fr. Formby's Old Testament History, readings from the Old Testament, and others. They learnt the text from their own books, and each story I read to them from the Bible itself. All the illustrations of the Catechism were taken from one or other of the Books. Most examiners would take no other except, of course, from Church history. I forgot to say that many of the girls have their books of Psalms, but that is not obligatory like the New Testament. I cannot lay my hands on the 'Scheme for Religious Instruction,' but I think I have told you all. As for us Nuns, the Scriptures are our daily bread. Where would the Breviary be without them?"

At St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, at Midsummer, 1899, Thomas Warrington, one of the students, passed first in England in the Senior Oxford Local Examinations, the Scripture portion of which consisted of the Gospel of St. Mark and the Acts, in Greek.

Ushaw is one of the largest of the Roman Catholic Colleges; boys passing from there to the Navy, Army, and other professions.

By the kindness and courtesy of Mgr. Ward I am allowed to give the following facts in reference to the teaching of Scripture at St. Edward's College, Old Hall, Ware:—

Lower Third Form: Schuster's Bible History, Old Testament.

Upper Third Form: Schuster's Bible History, New Testament.

Lower Fourth Form: Richards's Scripture History, Text of one Gospel.

Upper Fourth Form: St. Luke's Gospel, St. Edmund's College Series.

Lower Fifth Form: Outline Paper on the Four Gospels and the Acts, and one Gospel for special study.

Upper Fifth Form: One Gospel, Greek Text; Outline of the Old Testament (*e.g.*, from Accession of Saul to Babylonish Captivity, and one Book for special study).

Sixth Form and Upper Sixth: One Synoptic Gospel and St. John in Greek Text; one Epistle of St. Paul; Outline of Old Testament History (*e.g.*, from Death of Joshua to Death of Jehosaphat.)

"The above Syllabus," writes Mgr. Ward (in 1900) "will be completely in force next year." Meantime two thirds of it were in force in 1900.

On page 1 of the same number (*Month*) before alluded to, appears an advertisement of Scripture Manuals of which an exact transcript is here subjoined:—

#### SCRIPTURE MANUALS FOR CATHOLIC SCHOOLS.

Edited by the Rev. Sydney F. Smith, S.J.

Acts i—xii. By the Very Rev. T. A. Burge, O.S.B. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, boards, with Map, 2s.

Acts xiii—xxviii. By the Very Rev. Prior Burge, O.S.B. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 124 pp., boards with Map, 1s. 6d.

St. Luke. By the Rev. J. W. Darby, O.S.B., and the Rev. Sydney F. Smith, S.J. Crown 8vo, 296 pp., boards, with Map, 2s. 6d.

T

St. John. By the Rev. Joseph Rickaby, S.J. Crown 8vo, boards, with Map, 2s.

St. Matthew. By the Rev. Joseph Rickaby, S.J. Crown 8vo, boards, with Map, 2s. 6d.

London: Burns and Oates (Limited), 28, Orchard Street, W.

Here we find a Jesuit Father editing New Testament Manuals; of which two authors, it will be observed, are Benedictines and two Jesuits.

I may here also refer the reader to the splendid Scripture Handbooks known as "The St. Edmund's College Series," the type, the notes, and the maps being quite exceptional.

## II.

And now in turning to the philosophy of the subject I will begin by setting down the principles by which the Roman authorities seek to regulate this practice, and then go on to ask how far those principles may be said to find support in the more recent experiences of the Church.

The late Father Clarke, of the Society of Jesus, may, I think, be selected as an exponent here; his relation to the English Church being special, half his days having been spent within the Communion of the Church of England and half within the Communion of Rome.

Born in 1839, he was educated at Merchant Tailor's School, where he won a scholarship admitting him to St. John's College, Oxford. In the light of those prejudices that so many of us entertain about our Roman Catholic Brethren in general and about the Jesuits in particular it will be interesting to remember that Father Clarke was not a mere student but also a conspicuous figure on the river, that in 1859 he rowed in the University Race against Cambridge, that his interest in his College and in other races was sustained to the very last; and that he may therefore be described as

a typical Oxford man. After being elected to a fellowship at St. John's College he received Anglican Orders at the hands of Bishop Wilberforce. Subsequently, in 1869, he was received into the Roman Church; and in 1871 he entered upon his noviciate in the Society of Jesus. He died in the year 1900 during a Retreat that he was conducting in Yorkshire. His exposition of the Roman position is as follows:—

- (1) "In normal circumstances and among the faithful children of the Church, the reading of the Bible is generally and strongly encouraged, though it is never ordered as a matter of strict obligation.
- (2) At the same time, in the face of the corrupt and distorted mistranslations current, every edition of the Bible has to receive episcopal approbation.
- (3) There is also a general law that every version should have explanatory notes by approved theologians.
- (4) Under certain circumstances and where heresy has taken as its watchword unrestrained liberty in the reading and the interpretation of the Bible, further restrictions are to be imposed, and even an actual prohibition to read the Bible in the vernacular without permission is sometimes necessary."

The writer then goes on to illustrate the above principles: "Let us imagine any sensible man called upon to legislate respecting the drinking, say, of milk, or some other wholesome or nourishing beverage; would not his attitude be very much like that of the Church in its legislation respecting the drinking in of the milk of the word of God? Under normal circumstances he would encourage it, but where it was adulterated and mixed with unwholesome matter, he would require the approbation of a Government Inspector of all milk sold. Where milk had proved to act like poison on the unhealthy stomachs of those suffering from disease, he would recommend restrictions to be imposed and sometimes an actual prohibition of its use without special

leave would be necessary. This is exactly what the Church has done respecting Holy Writ."

Now as regards the above principles, let anyone bear in mind the progressive tendency to divide which has manifested itself during the last 300 years in England, and yet the appeal that has been made by each one of the many thousand sections to its own unassisted reading of Scripture in support of its own peculiar position; let him further reflect upon the character of much that is in the Old Testament, how unsuitable it is for untrained ears to hear; let him realise the mischief done by the circulation of corrupt versions; let him contrast the position and special dignity assigned to the book itself within the building of the Church with what we see has happened to it in many of our homes outside, and will he not be constrained to own that the experience of 300 years has some confessions to make in regard to this question?

If it be right to think of the Church as a living society with a consciousness that has been continuous from the first, and that the books of the New Testament were realised, as it were, within that consciousness; if government and authority are to exercise their proper functions within her, is it not to be expected that so far as the sacred writings have been wrenched from her bosom and thrown out broadcast so that any one and everyone may be left to scramble for them, and do what they will in the way of expounding them, no word being said however heretical interpretations might prove themselves to be—is it not to be expected that their sacredness, nay even their very existence, would be imperilled?

Have we not discovered, then, in the course of 300 years the need of proportion in this as in other cases?

Is it not a question of balance? If no guidance and restriction is imposed you have reckless interpretation and almost infinite contradictions, with a tendency to unbelief as its logical consequence.

On the other hand, where authority exercises too

severe a restraint in this direction, the language of devotion may become thin, running sometimes into superstition; and there may come to be a certain want of serious mindedness which some of our Roman brethren themselves have been heard to deplore.

But, more than this, the Roman attitude on this question must be examined in its proper setting. Definite dogmatic teaching, nay, even pictorial teaching, is the normal food of a Roman Catholic from the first. The High Altar, to be seen not here or there merely as a striking contrast to an otherwise general rule; the unquestioned Presence, and the habit everywhere of Eucharistic adoration; the large Crucifix; the life-like images of the Holy Family; the Saints having their place and part in the familiar conversation of every-day life; the well-considered and undisturbed ceremonial; all this is vivid; and by such means the things and even the proportion of faith are secured and figured upon the mind of a worshipper in a manner that is not easy for us to realise; and it is for such as live in this atmosphere that the Roman principles in regard to the Bible are brought into exercise; and when examined outside this setting they cannot be fairly judged.

Language in the Roman Church is employed and understood in its larger and more dramatic sense, and not merely in the restricted sense of words that you hear or read.

However, it will be evident from what I have already said and from what I hope now to show, that the Roman authorities desire that the Bible should be read wherever peculiar circumstances do not render such unrestrained reading a danger to the faith; that where the authorities exercise such restraint their motive is not to keep the Bible from the people but to keep it for them; and that for devotional purposes special stress is laid upon the reading of the Psalms and the Holy Gospels.



## III.

I will now come to a concrete instance which may serve to illustrate the principles which I have described.

The case of M. Lasserre attracted some attention at the time, and is so often quoted, and, as our Roman friends are apt to say, so often misrepresented that it may be well to give an outline of the facts.

## M. HENRI LASSERRE.

In the year 1886, M. Lasserre published a new translation of the Holy Gospels. The author stated in his Preface what the object was that he had in view. "The greater part of the children of the Church," he says, "only know fragments of the Sacred Volume, reproduced in no logical or chronological order in prayer-books and in the Mass for Sundays and Feasts. . . ." The author then goes on to ask why this is; and he assigns some of the reasons that have already been considered.

The abuse to which Protestants have subjected the sacred volume has compelled the authorities to regulate the practice of Bible-reading; and some more timid souls have shunned, with a kind of dread, the unassisted reading of Scripture, substituting for it books of devotion in which eternal truths are diluted (*délayé*) and as it were, almost lost in the strange waters of ascetic or mystic consideration, rules of piety, processes of perfection and prayers of every sort.

He enumerates other causes also: Vexatious division into chapter and verse, the too close adherence to the original, the character of translations which were barbarous in style, and so forth.

He then goes on to speak of some unfortunate results of all this, and finally describes the system he has himself pursued, concluding the entire preface by imploring a blessing upon his work.

So far then we see how the case stands; and the im-

portance of the preface lies in this, that it lays down the object with which the book was written; and this is the point or pivot upon which the question mainly turns. The Pope gave his "approval of the object;" the words between the inverted commas are a quotation from the letter of Cardinal Jacobini which he was commissioned to write by the Pope himself.

I will now give an outline of the history of this book from the time it left the author's hand to the point of time when it was condemned.

1. The Imprimatur of the Archbishop. Before coming into the hands of the public the book would come before the Archbishop of Paris. It is the custom, it appears, for Bishops to appoint one or more theological censors, and unless they allow it to pass, the Imprimatur is not given.

It is said that, in this case, the censor endeavoured to induce M. Lasserre to make a number of corrections, but that he declined to do so. Father Clarke explains that under these circumstances the censors should have advised the Archbishop to refuse his Imprimatur until such necessary alterations had been made. This they failed to do, and the Imprimatur was consequently given.

2. The Pope's Approval. A copy of the book was next sent to the Pope; and Cardinal Jacobini was commissioned to write the following letter in his name:—

"To M. Henri Lasserre, of Paris.

"Most Illustrious Seigneur,—The Holy Father has received in regular course the French translation of the Holy Gospels which you have undertaken and accomplished, to the delight and with the approval of the Archiepiscopal authority.

"His Holiness commissions me to express to you his approval of the object with which you have been inspired, etc., etc.; and he charges me to make known to you his earnest desire that the object, which you pursue and which you indicate in the preface of your book, may be fully attained.

“Yielding most willingly to your desire, His Holiness sends you from the bottom of his heart his Apostolic Benediction. . . .”

Thus the approval was given to the object for which the book was published; nor was that approval subsequently withdrawn. The book ran through twenty-five editions in twelve months, and was warmly praised by the Bishops and the Catholic Press.

3. The Condemnation. Although the object of the book was approved, the contents of the book, that is, the materials by means of which that object was pursued, were afterwards criticised.

It will be understood, of course, that the question of Infallibility is not touched by this condemnation, as the Pope's approval of the object is an abiding fact, as true to-day—as all his subsequent utterances have testified—as it certainly was in 1886; but the fact that the book managed to pass the censors has naturally been criticised, and the subsequent condemnation has been adduced again and again to prove that Rome does in fact, whatever she may sometimes say to the contrary, withhold the Bible from her children.

I believe this to be precisely one of those misunderstandings that explanation is calculated to remove.

A number of inaccuracies, mistranslations, and departures from the traditional interpretation of Holy Scripture appear to have been subsequently discovered and exposed in a pamphlet; and when the attention of the Sacred Congregation of the Index was shortly afterwards called to this, the book was submitted to them, with the result that it was condemned. If it be considered strange that a book should be heartily welcomed at first and yet sternly criticised later on, a more remarkable illustration of this will occur to us in the case of the *Christian Year*.

For eight or ten years this work was “cherished by persons of a great variety of opinions,” who are understood to have seen in it only their own doctrines. Then

at a certain point of time suspicions were aroused in regard to the opinions of the author, and at once a number of passages were "exposed to reprobation in the public prints." There are some who are more alive to danger than others; and the moment a book passes into their hands their own proper and sensitive instinct detects heresy where others have seen no harm. And this appears to have been the case with the book in question. Father Clarke quotes some passages in illustration; and I will set down one or two in this place.

(a) "Lead us not into temptation."

M. Lasserre says: "These words, *Ne nos inducas in tentationem*, instead of having a general sense, seem to us properly to have reference only to the preceding phrase. The man who is praying has just asked that his debts may be forgiven, as he himself forgives . . . but a moment after reflecting very naturally on his own acts, on his tendency to be angry at any injury and to demand from others what is due to him, he trembles lest that rule that is so just should become in practice his condemnation and his ruin, and the impulse of his soul is as follows: "Yes, Lord, I say this to you, and I think it from the bottom of my heart; yes, I wish to forgive and to be generous, to forgive those who offend me, and to be generous to my debtors. All the same do not put me to the test (*toutefois ne me mettez pas à l'épreuve*), for I know myself and my own frailty. . . ."

(b) St. Mark iii, 21, is rendered "*Il est tombé en défaillance*"—He has fainted.

M. Lasserre suggests that the expression in the Vulgate is due probably to some error of the copyist. The original text had no doubt—in *deliquium versus est*, but the copyist, by mistake, wrote *delirium*, and some later translators changed *delirium* into *furorem*.

The expression in the Vulgate appears thus:—In *furorem versus est*. Father Clarke's comment upon this, after remarking upon the coolness of the suggestion, is that even if we suppose *deliquium* to have been the

word in the text, "no schoolboy would be guilty of translating it—'He has fainted.'"

(c) St. Matthew xii, 31. The sin against the Holy Ghost.

M. Lasserre explains:—"There is no question here of the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity; the Holy Spirit here is not the Holy Ghost, but the supernatural impulse, the spirit of Holiness that animates the actions and words of good men. Whoever in presence of some noble work of a thing clearly excellent in itself, tries to vilify the motives that inspire it commits this terrible sin, which is unpardoned and unpardonable."

(d) St. Matthew xii, 6. "There is one here greater than the Temple."

The translation, M. Lasserre says, would be *Ici est plus grand que le temple*, and it means "The place where I am is greater than the temple."

(e) St. Matthew xix, 9.

As regards the only reason for putting away a wife, M. Lasserre translates the word—prostitution.

(f) St. Matthew vi, 7. "Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit to his stature?"

This is rendered "which of you, by tormenting his soul thus could only add a single cubit to the thread of life." A cubit, the writer says, in justifying the change, would be a considerable addition to a man's stature.

(g) St. Matthew xx, 16

M. Lasserre omits the important words "Many are called, but few are chosen."

These are some of the illustrations given by Father Clarke, as suggesting the reason which led, rightly he thinks, to the condemnation of the book.

#### IV.

Before concluding this part of my subject some reference should be made to the Dominican College at Jerusalem, opened by the Fathers of this illustrious Order in

the year 1892 for the study of Oriental languages and Biblical criticism.

To this centre students come from all parts of the world, to prepare themselves, by a special course of training, for the work of Professors in the various Houses of Study belonging to the Order. The moving spirit of this great enterprise is the Père Lagrange, a personality of great mark and distinction.

One outcome of the movement is the now famous *Revue Biblique*, edited by the Fathers at the College. A special feature of this quarterly publication is an endeavour to discover a *modus vivendi* between the established findings of modern research and the traditional teaching of the Church on momentous questions relating to Inspiration and Revelation.

The Review, from the very outset, has kept itself in touch with the most recent Biblical criticism, and after nine years of good work affords a suggestive commentary on the lines laid down in the *Encyclical Providentissimus Deus* (1893) on the Study of Holy Scripture. A special instance of this appears in the full and free discussion in its pages of a theory advanced by modern critics in relation to the *Book of Tobias*.

The theory in question suggests that this book finds its counterpart in other languages, and that it is in fact a Judaic version of an Oriental legend.

The writers in the Review, amongst whom we recognise the famous name of Père Schiel, an oriental scholar of European reputation, while frankly recognising any element of truth there may be in this theory seek to relate it to that view of plenary inspiration to which Catholics are everywhere committed. It may be interesting to set down, as I have in other cases, the course of Lectures, for instance, in the year 1899-1900 (October to July):—

#### COURSE OF LECTURES.

Theologia Dogmatica—De Sacramentis.

Theologia Moralis—De Justitia et de Religione.

Philosophia—Metaphysica.

Jus Canonicum.

Histoire des Juifs au temps de N.S.

Explication du livre des Juges.

Géographie de la terre sainte et topographie de Jérusalem.

Archéologie biblique—Les monuments.

Langue hébraïque—Grammaire.

Langue grecque.

Langue araméenne.

Langue arabe.

Langue assyrienne.

Non-Catholic as well as Catholic Professors are employed on the staff.

Visits are made to places of extraordinary interest in the Holy Land, such as Jerusalem, Gaza, Ascalon, &c.

## V.

I am not, of course, assuming that every theory on the subject of Inspiration or on other delicate aspects of controverted subjects will ultimately be approved, because for the present, it is allowed, by the authorities. This is manifestly impossible in the very nature of things; but it will be enough if what I have set down here and elsewhere shall serve to show that genuine efforts are made to allow sufficient elbow room, for all who in the course of their investigations discover an "equal regard" for the deposit of faith on the one hand and for the grave problems imposed upon all of us by modern thought on the other.

That the Roman Communion, as such, is committed to a belief in the inspiration of the Bible in its entirety is a fact which can easily be sustained by reference to formal teaching of successive Councils and the explicit utterances of Leo XIII; and of all the ironies of history none is stranger to my mind than the extraordinary revolution that has come about in regard to our views of Scripture. The false tradition of two or three cen-

turies had trained us to imagine that it was the Protestant world that has ever valued Holy Scripture, and that Roman Catholics depreciated it and kept it in the background lest the reading of it might undermine belief in their own peculiar claims. Now, on the contrary, and within the last few years, Leo XIII and the Roman Congregations have been roughly handled and treated with much scorn and with scant respect for their over jealous care for the Bible, and for being hopelessly behind the times.

However this may be it is certain that neither now nor at any future time will Rome countenance any theory of partial inspiration; the Encyclical of 1893 makes that plain, as its words will show :—

“Some of these writers (in allusion to those who are attacking the books of Scripture) display not only extreme hostility, but the greatest unfairness; in their eyes, a profane book or ancient document is accepted without hesitation while the scripture, if they only find in it a suspicion of error, is set down with the slightest possible discussion as quite untrustworthy.

“It is true, no doubt, that copyists have made mistakes in the text of the Bible; this question, when it arises should be carefully considered on its merits, and the fact not too easily admitted, but only in those passages where the proof is clear. It may also happen that the sense of a passage remains ambiguous, and in this case good hermeneutical methods will greatly assist in clearing up the obscurity. But it is absolutely wrong and forbidden, either to narrow inspiration to certain parts only of the Holy Scripture, or to admit that the sacred writer has erred. For the system of those who, in order to rid themselves of these difficulties, do not hesitate to concede that divine inspiration regards the things of faith and morals and nothing beyond because (as they wrongly think) in the question of the truth or falsehood of a passage, we should consider not so much what God has said as the reason and purpose which He had in



mind in saying it—this system cannot be tolerated. For all the books which the Church receives as sacred and canonical are written wholly and entirely, with all their parts, at the dictation of the Holy Ghost; and so far is it from being possible that any error can exist with inspiration, that inspiration not only is essentially incompatible with error, but excludes and rejects it as absolutely and necessarily as it is impossible that God Himself, the Supreme Truth, can utter that which is not true.”

“This is the ancient and unchanging faith of the Church, solemnly defined in the Councils of Florence, and of Trent, and finally confirmed and more expressly formulated by the Council of the Vatican.”

Such is the deliberate and precise language of Leo XIII; and before I go on to say further words about it, I should like, with every sentiment of love and respect, to address one question to those of my Evangelical brethren who entertain feelings of genuine horror towards Rome. Can you lay your hands on your hearts and say that one who could make such a statement in the face of the whole Church is likely to be the Anti-Christ of Prophecy? I do not think you can. I can scarcely believe that you would wish to do so.

And next, as to the relation of such an utterance, to what is vaguely described as modern thought.

## VI.

And first, every Roman Catholic in the world is bound, as we have seen, to believe that the entire Bible is inspired.

Now, it will be said that this at once suggests difficulties in the light of modern thought and discovery. I shall, therefore, make some attempt to declare the attitude of the Roman mind upon this question; and this after holding conversations with various distinguished Roman teachers. Newman spent nearly twelve

months in the preparation of his article in the *Nineteenth Century* (February, 1884) upon the subject of Inspiration, and this was followed later on by a carefully written postscript. In both cases he introduced some distinctions which may prove suggestive, and which are being worked out carefully by theologians, whether within or outside the Roman Communion. He calls attention to the identity of language used in the Councils of Trent and of the Vatican. "Even where a phrase is not easy to translate," he says, "the identity is preserved; for instance, the clause 'in rebus fidei et morum ad ædificationem doctrinæ Christianæ pertinentium,' not 'pertinentibus,' is found in both Councils."

Then he enters upon some distinctions. "Scripture is inspired in its length and breadth, and is brought into the compass of one volume by virtue of this supernatural bond; whenever, wherever, and by whomsoever written, it is all inspired. Still we may ask the question, in what respect and for what purpose? When we speak of the Bible in its length and breadth we speak of it quantitatively; but this does not interfere with our viewing it in relation to the character, or what may be called the quality of the inspiration."

"According to the two Councils, Scripture is inspired as being the work of inspired men, the subject of faith and morals being the occupation or mission assigned to them and their writings, inspiration being the efficient cause of their teaching."

Again, "Because a cup is full that does not enable us to determine what is the nature and the effects of the liquor with which it is filled; whether, for instance, it is nutritive, or medicinal, or merely restorative, and so though Scripture be plenarily inspired, it is a question still, for what purposes."

"In a word, Inspiration of Scripture in omnibus suis partibus is one thing, in omnibus rebus is another." A distinguished Dominican, an ardent student of St.

Thomas, in referring to Newman's words, said: "It is wonderful how he worked out his thoughts, but he had not quite reached the point that we are pressing now, viz., the careful distinction between revelation and inspiration."

## VII.

I will make some attempt now to draw out this distinction. And first "Revelation" shall be understood to signify—A divine manifestation and guarantee of a supernatural truth; that is, a truth not to be found out by reason.

Let us picture this in some concrete form.

A number of Jews, we will suppose, find themselves listening to the earnest exhortations of some preacher, who warns them that unless the nation repents and turns to God a heavy judgment will come upon it, in the form, let us say, of captivity. They are not moved by this; in fact they treat it with evident scorn.

Many years after, however, the prophecy is fulfilled, and this at once throws the thoughts of this people back upon the preacher, and invests his utterance which they despised then with terrible force and import now. They reflect: "How true were those burning words we heard! We regarded the preacher as a fanatic then; but his words struck home in spite of us, and come up before us now vivid as when they were first uttered." So they reflect. And now there is a movement, and one stands out from the crowd, and we behold him evidently solemnised and subdued by some overmastering thought. Follow him to his inner chamber: he sits down to write; and all that he writes is written under inspiration. The Holy Spirit is by him though you see Him not; in other words he is a sacred writer speaking as he is moved by the Holy Ghost. He writes down many words; no thought of self in aught he thinks or says; for it is the Holy Spirit who is dictating. And what is it that the

writer sets before himself? Or rather what is it that the Holy Spirit sets before him? It is that very message which was despised at the point of time when it was uttered but is recognised now as having been a message of God from Heaven. Recognised,—score a deep line beneath this word.

Thousands of people may have heard that message when it was first uttered; it may have been committed to writing by some one as a matter of curiosity or in order to hand down the everyday history of the time; and yet of all these thousands only one, and that one the writer before us, recognised,—underline the word again; recognised it as a “Revelation.”

Here, then, we have the first note of an inspired man. A man writing under inspiration is a man who recognises revelation. Observe the distinction. In the case before us we have one man at one point of time, and another at another. The first receives a definite something at his point of time, from God; he is filled with it, he cannot contain himself until he is delivered of it. It is God’s message, supernaturally imparted; and he opens his mouth and declares it; it is Revelation.

The second, at his point of time, receives a glorious infusion of light from the Holy Spirit, and his illuminated intellect recognises.

Let us stand by the writer’s side once again in that first moment before he turns towards his home; his lips are moving; he is saying words to himself. Let us hear them. “I intend to write what I have been enabled to recognise,—in order that future ages may have it before them to read.”

We are still, then, with our second man, at his own proper point of time, and we know now what his second note is;—the intention to transmit the revelation by writing. Thus the inspired writer is before us with two notes upon him.

- (1) He discerns and recognises that substantive thing which is called Revelation; and it is under the

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illuminating influence of the Holy Spirit that he does so.

- (2) The intention to transmit it in writing is conceived within his mind; and it is by the influence of the Holy Spirit that it is conceived.

Thus the Holy Spirit presides over the situation; and the consequent writings are the outcome of inspiration.

### VIII.

And now let me suppose that one of the faithful is before us—wishing to believe; but vexed in his spirit nevertheless. “I have a duty to the absolute truth, and I have no desire to evade difficulties. Nevertheless there is a great deal of fashion even in the followings of what is called modern thought; and men are often sceptics in regard to Scripture yet credulous in regard to those who would seem too lightly to disturb it. But let me be at once free and fair.” So we may suppose him to reason. He then hears that some particular book in the Old Testament is now known to have been written at a much later date than was once supposed; at a comparatively modern date in fact. And this becomes a stumblingblock to him.

How, then, does the distinction come in to answer his difficulty? “Authentic reëditing,” is the answer.

At this point I will quote an illustration:—

“The prophecies of *Isaias*, for example, were disbelieved in his day. Again and again he threatened the Jews with captivity, but they thanked him with jeers. However, his words came true at last. In the day of exile we might well conceive that they recognised the truth of the holy man’s warnings. To make amends for their past foolishness, as well as to keep his wise counsels ever before their thoughts, they brought their record of his sayings and sermons into one. Whoever, then, enlightened and moved by God, judged these discourses to contain a revelation, and intended to transmit this

revelation by writing, was inspired. We must not be taken to mean that any writer is inspired who recognises a revelation and intends to transmit it; otherwise we should find it difficult to deny inspiration to all subsequent editors of the sacred books. But inspiration when granted would run in these grooves. The inspired author would necessarily judge something to be a revelation, and would intend to transmit it."

This ultimate authentic reëditing might conceivably take place a thousand years after the point of time at which the revelation was imparted, and a thousand years also after the death of the one whose name stands at the head and front of the book in question. Now, let it be observed, my general aim throughout is Reunion; and speaking more particularly, it is Reunion with the Holy See. The question is, then, can the individual person whom we pictured at the outset say, on reading the statement I have set down, that he is able to do justice in his mind to genuine historical research on the one side, and to the claims of revealed truth in their most orthodox shape on the other? In other words does it, so far, enable him to be an honest believer, in the twentieth century?

Let me assume that he answers in the affirmative, and I shall be encouraged to pursue this exposition.

Another difficulty may be the case of Genesis; and another, more particular case,—the Sun standing still. I am, of course, only attempting to indicate lines of thought and this in accordance with what I have been enabled to gather from reading and the conversations to which I have referred. And first, as to Genesis. Let me transcribe two propositions from the *Propædædica ad Sacram Theologiam* of Cardinal Zigliara, another famous Dominican; I give them from a quotation in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*:—

"In the forementioned documentary hypothesis, (in regard to the Books of Moses) it must be borne in mind that—

1. The acceptance of the contents of documents, inasmuch as they are, *i.e.*, as regards their existence, accrued to Moses by natural means . . . . Consequently, on the part of the acceptance there was no revelation.

2. But the contents of these documents, inasmuch as they are true, *i.e.*, as regards the judgment on what is accepted, is not to be considered a judgment of a human kind which is liable to error; for Moses was infallible in judgment with divine infallibility, and hence was divinely inspired with what was a revelation as regards the 'judgment.'

The writer after quoting the above goes on to say, "The Cardinal here lays down what we may term, for convenience sake, the theology of inspiration."

Again, in regard to Genesis and indeed to the entire question, the problem is how to appreciate the relation between God and man.

In this connection a suggestive passage from St. Thomas may set us thinking. "The same effect is not to be attributed to the natural cause and the divine agency as if it were partly from God and partly from the natural cause." In fact, it is wholly from both, but in a different manner; "even as the same effect is wholly attributed to the instrument, and wholly to the principal cause."

Now in the two propositions set down above (in regard to the Books of Moses) we recognise the theological doctrine, and in the development of this last quotation from St. Thomas we may discern the psychological doctrine of Inspiration.

Once more, these two doctrines appear to have been united by a French theologian in an article in the *Revue Thomiste* for March, 1895, entitled "Une pensée de Saint Thomas sur l'Inspiration Scripturaire." The drift of this is to show how "the famous school dispute rested primarily on the confusion of revelation with inspiration." One further step is to be recognised in the

work of Père Lagrange in a series of articles published in the *Revue Biblique* from 1895 to 1898.

The three theologians above mentioned were "above all else theologians." "Père Lagrange was dominantly a Biblical scholar; he had passed through the training of the Summa and had tasted its breadth and depth; yet he was and still is exegetist rather than theologian." He set to work, then, to "apply the principles of St. Thomas to some of the great difficulties of the Bible. His predecessors had laid down abstract laws. Critics, however, awaited something more than academic generalities. Whilst a theory remains in the lecture room it is unassailable, or, what is much the same, unassailed. The only test of its strength and utility is to bring it into contact with the concrete Biblical difficulties which are driving critics from faith to a denial of all revelation. And it is to the honour of Père Lagrange that in a reverent yet progressive spirit he has attempted to reconcile Thomistic theology and the traditious of the Church with the latest products of sound Biblical criticism."

I proceed with the quotation from the article of Father McNabb, because it has a distinct bearing upon the study of Thomistic philosophy. "To appreciate fully," he writes, "the position he (Père Lagrange) and the other Thomists take up, we must presuppose the psychology and theology of the Master. Men who come unprepared with this apparatus biblicus are not unlikely to give our deductions a hard name, calling them subtleties. . . . And, indeed, until the somewhat difficult philosophy of St. Thomas is made our own, any scientific account of the phenomena of inspiration must appear incomprehensible and almost incredible."

In regard, then, to the case of Genesis. "The question is not whether the first chapter is to be taken as a whole, literally or metaphorically. . . . The real question is, what does the inspired writer mean to put forward." Perhaps the writer does not intend to put



that chapter forward as more than a record of the Hebrew tradition "which stands out in contrast with neighbouring traditions by its unmistakeable insistence on the fundamental truths of Natural Religion and those supernatural truths which could only come from revelation, viz., the existence of a personal God, the inherent goodness of matter and human nature, the spirituality and creation of the human soul, the mysterious lapse into sin, the need and promise of a Redeemer, and lastly, the doctrine, so much needed in the East, of the natural equality of the two sexes of the human race."

This suggests the distinction between the certainty of the mode and the certainty of the proposition. Thus, "the proposition—the universe was made in six periods of time—may or may not be absolutely false; but the quasi-modal proposition—'the common tradition holds that the earth was made in six periods of time'—may be absolutely true."

Thus we come to distinguish between the saying and the thing; the dictum and the res. Turn to another case; the case of Dives and Lazarus. I am not saying that this is a parallel case; it is another case; state it thus: "Dives had existence." Is this true? It is neither true nor untrue; and this although the language runs "There was a certain rich man." But it is plainly true in the sense in which our Lord said it. If I remember rightly, this last illustration was employed by Dr. Gore in answer to the late Professor Huxley. If so, the undesigned coincidence, in the shape of illustration, as between Father McNabb and Dr. Gore is the more interesting.

Once more, in regard to the case of the sun standing still. The question again might be—What did the writer mean to put forward? Perhaps it was this "As the current opinion has it, the sun stood still." In any case it would not necessarily mean that it was absolutely certain, and still less that it was divinely revealed that the sun stood still.

On the whole, in this case, it might be said God watched over his people and by some slight intervention somewhat prolonged the day. But the more precise language of some thousands of years later could not have been anticipated without disturbing the whole course and the regular unfolding of the several sciences; nor would it have served the cause of truth or the purpose the writer had in hand so to anticipate it. God distinctly intervened and, as it may be said, the sun stood still.

So now our almanacks, on each distinct page, lay down the printed assertion "Sun rises at 5-6 a.m., (or whatever the hour may be) and sets at 6-57. It may be asked—is that absolutely true? And we reply—yes, absolutely true? But now look again at the statement, and say, is it absolutely true? And we reply once more—certainly, those words are true in the sense in which the writer meant to put them forward.

Thus, as I understand the case, what is needed now is not reckless statements thrown out regardless of the faith and the feelings of others, but careful study of the modes of thought and an imaginative appreciation of the entire mental and moral atmosphere of those far distant times of which the earlier books of the Bible treat.

The Dominican is an intellectual not a contemplative Order; and is understood to represent the advanced guard in the Roman Church. Those of their brethren who might be disposed to treat these difficult problems somewhat more cautiously gladly recognise them as such; whether all their conclusions are destined to be ultimately accepted or not. But in any case they would appear to be well on the road to the ultimate solution of the more difficult problems.

## I.

One point which perplexes many and is I think misunderstood, is the attitude of the Congregations or, speaking more particularly, Congregation of the Index in regard to speculations which intrude or seem to intrude into the sphere of Revelation or Inspiration as the case may be; and as enquiry has brought some light to my own mind I venture to say a few further words upon this point.

The Church regards the deposit of revealed truth, of which the written word constitutes a principal part, as having been committed to her keeping. She sets her appointed officers, therefore, to patrol up and down before it; and in case she sees any one apparently laying hands upon her treasure she warns them off. "It is my duty to preserve this inviolate; I have no wish to interfere with the pursuit of knowledge in any form whatever. On the contrary, I encourage it as a duty; but so far as Catholics are concerned, they have to remember that they are committed to certain definite positions in regard to Holy Scripture, such as the precise language of Councils or of more recent utterances such as the Encyclical on Holy Scripture (1893); and if they lay down in point some statement which contradicts those positions or any one of them, it is my duty to warn the faithful against them, and if necessary to place the book upon the Index."

To say, then, as is sometimes said, that the Church under such circumstances neither allows others to guide modern thought and speculation nor guides it herself is, I venture to believe, entirely to misunderstand the position. I have seen it illustrated in this way: A traveller comes across your path and asks you a question, "I am on my way to a certain place, this road will, I think, bring me to it?" To which you reply, "No, it does not lie down this way." He then goes on to enquire, "Which way, then, does it lie?" And to

this you return the reply, "I cannot answer that question; I only know that it does not lie this way, because this road runs down into my part of the world and I have known that part for years."

Such an answer does not guide the man in a positive and direct sense to his destination; but it saves him from wasting his time and perhaps losing himself altogether by toiling on in a wrong direction.

So, if I rightly understand it, the Church does not presume to dictate to specialists upon points lying within the compass of their own science except where such supposed points also lie within the compass of hers. She is not so foolish as to imagine herself a specialist upon every subject under Heaven; she has a deposit to guard, and she is under an obligation to guard it; nor can she make handsome presents of those things which do not belong to her but of which she is intended to be the faithful trustee. A case of this kind came up not many months back, when I ventured to point out that I thought it a mistake to say that the Holy See made no attempt to guide modern thought and that she would not suffer others to do so either.

I thought it a mistake for reasons which I have adduced in another part of this chapter. And one special illustration I selected was an article by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Newport in the *Dublin Review* a few years back, in the course of which he made some allusion to the theory that the body of Adam might have arisen from a non-human animal. The Bishop carefully abstained from saying any word in favour of this theory. Otherwise the general drift of the article as I considered when I read it, and as I still consider now, supplied one of many proofs that our Roman brethren do interest themselves in modern problems, and that their authorities encourage them to do so; the only necessary limitations imposed being such as I have already indicated. A correspondent subsequently pointed out in allusion to what I have said that "the aforesaid

correspondent's reference to some liberal sentiments, which appeared in the pages of the *Dublin Review*, is a curiously corroborative comment (that is, upon the view which refuses to Rome what I should attribute to her). Indeed, it happens to be a case exactly in point, all the more significant because adduced by an apologist for the opposite purpose. This article, it appears, turned out displeasing to authority, and its author, Bishop Hedley, has himself written to the Roman Catholic Press to that effect. . . . And again, "Science in the abstract is sympathised with, while the Catholic scientist is condemned."

There were reasons at the time for not pursuing the controversy; nor do I wish to write in any controversial spirit now. But a better course I thought would be to go into the whole question as to facts and principles and make some attempt to expound them. So I wrote to Bishop Hedley and asked him kindly to explain to me the circumstances of the case as I felt sure that Anglicans might be under misapprehensions through the want of such an explanation. And he wrote me a letter which he kindly allows me to transcribe :

"No article or portion of any article of mine has ever been censured by the Holy See. The facts are these. I wrote the article you refer to a year or two ago. In that article I spoke of the question of the body of the first man—whether it was created instantaneously for the purpose of the infusion of the soul, or whether for that purpose, a pre-existent animal was taken. I said I had always considered the latter opinion "rash," to say the least; but that now, as Dr. Mivart had published the opinion, and it had not been condemned, it might perhaps be "rash" no longer."

"On this point the *Civiltà Cattolica* rejoined that the opinion had been condemned by Rome. I then wrote to the *Tablet* saying that if that was the case I should withdraw my statement as to its not being "rash."

"I added, in effect, that the *Civiltà* quoted no decision

of any Roman Congregation, but only spoke vaguely of "authority." I have since been informed that the condemnation in question, if it was ever pronounced, emanated merely from the Dominican Superior and not from the Holy See at all. I need not say that you are perfectly at liberty to publish this or anything contained in my article.

But there has been no action or intervention on the part of the Holy See, or of any tribunal of the Holy See. . . ."

The letter alluded to above and addressed by the Bishop to the *Tablet* on January 11th, 1899, when his Lordship was under the misapprehension, is here subjoined because it further discovers the general bearings of the case and incidentally shows the attitude of the Jesuit organ in regard to that more limited view of evolution which is received and believed by not a few people in the present day :—

#### PHYSICAL SCIENCE AND FAITH.

To the Editor of the *Tablet*.

Sir,—My attention has been called to an article in the *Civiltà Cattolica* of January 7, entitled "Evoluzione e domma," in which the writer speaks unfavourably of the Rev. Dr. Zahm, and of the paper contributed by me to *The Dublin Review* of last October, under the name of "Physical Science and Faith." There is nothing that calls for any special remark in the greater part of the article. It is not very clear whether the writer altogether rejects Evolution in the physical world, or not. But the last paragraph is important, as we find there a letter from the Dominican writer, Père Leroy, from which it appears we must conclude that the Holy See has spoken on the subject of the formation of the body of Adam. It is well known that Dr. Mivart's view is that it is perfectly open to a Catholic to hold that the body of Adam was not formed directly from the dust, but might have arisen from a non-human animal, the rational soul being

subsequently infused. Père Leroy had defended this view in a work published in 1891. In February, 1895, however, according to the *Civiltà*, Père Leroy was summoned to Rome ad audiendum verbum, and the result appears from the following sentences of a letter dated February 26 of that year, which is printed at the end of the article referred to. (I translate from the French.) "I have to-day learned that my thesis, after examination at Rome, by competent authority, has been judged untenable, especially in what relates to the body of man—being incompatible with the text of Holy Scripture and with the principles of sound philosophy." The "authority" here referred to must, I presume, be that of the Holy Office. The "Mivartian" theory, therefore, can no longer be sustained. As to my own paper, it will be observed that I have carefully abstained from saying a word in favour of this theory. More than thirty years ago, in an article in *The Dublin* on "Evolution and Faith," I felt obliged to consider the theory at least "rash." I am aware, however, that views which may at one time be theologically speaking "rash," need not always be rash; for the note of "rashness" is given to those propositions which are either contrary to the common doctrine of theologians or are put forward without any reasonable grounds. Still, I need not say that if the "competent authority" has decided in the sense in which it appears to have done, the view that the body of Adam was "evolved" must still be pronounced "rash"—and something more.

✠ J. C. HEDLEY, O.S.B.

January 11, 1899."

## XII.

This, I think, will serve to show what I am making some attempt to say. In the present instance it was the specific point of the body of man and its origin; and to

say that a pre-existent animal was taken in order to provide a body for the first man was considered "rash," or even untenable.

Having heard this, the Père Leroy, the Dominican, writes :—

"J'apprends aujourd'hui que ma these examinée ici, à Rome, par l'autorité compétente a été jugée insoutenable surtout en ce qui concerne le corps de l'homme, incompatible qu'elle est, tant avec les textes de la Sainte Ecriture, qu'avec les principes d'une saine philosophie.

Enfant docile de l'Eglise, résolu avant tout à vivre et à mourir dans la foi de la Sainte Eglise romaine, obéissant du reste en cela à des ordres supérieurs, je déclare désavouer, rétracter et réprouver tout ce que j'ai dit, écrit et publié en faveur de cette théorie. Je déclare en outre vouloir retirer de la circulation, autant qu'il est en mon pouvoir, ce qui peut rester de l'édition, de mon livre sur l'Evolution restreinte et en interdire désormais la vente."

Fr. M. D. Leroy, O.P.

Rome, 26 Fevrier, 1895.

The first portion of the letter, omitted here, relates the circumstances under which the writer came to publish this book.

This letter is transcribed and included within an article the general purport of which is described in the letter I have already given from the Bishop of Newport. In the event, as is shown by the private letter of the Bishop to myself, it appears that neither the Holy See, nor any tribunal of the Holy See, has formally condemned this position ; although it does not therefore follow that the Church will not condemn it at some future time.

Meantime, the authorities may have informally intimated to some one that the particular thesis was displeasing to them as being rash or more than rash ; and the Père Leroy at once acts upon this. I know nothing of this ; I suggest it as a hypothesis. If so what is there in this that is either strange or tyrannical ? Gen. i, 26, 27, is the passage which speaks of the creation of man



in the image of God, and the hypothesis in question was understood to be incompatible with it.

Meantime as regards sound philosophy, Professor Lloyd Morgan speaking of a break in the continuity as from the animal to the human mind declares "There is a breach of continuity of development at this stage of evolution analogous to the breach of continuity between the inorganic and the organic phases of development."

I speak under correction, but I should understand this passage as supplying the necessary support to those who judged the thesis of P  re Leroy to be untenable.

### XIII.

I understand the three propositions which guide the Sacred Congregation in such questions to be as follows :

1. Behind every statement in Holy Scripture there lies a "Thus saith the Lord."
2. What the Lord says is true.
3. It is true in the sense in which He says it.

In this case, it would be in connection with the third point that such illustrations as we have been considering would receive their full and philosophical treatment. I may here quote the words of Father Sydney Smith to confirm what I have been saying.

"It is generally agreed," he writes, "that we have still much to learn about the literary methods of antiquity, and that when fuller account is taken of these, and the purpose of the Divine Author is more precisely defined, the sense of many passages in Scripture may prove to have been wrongly estimated, with the result of creating some unreal difficulties for the modern apologist. The erroneous judgment on Galileo was an illustration of this defect in the past, and Leo XIII in his Encyclical on the Study of Scripture gave formal encouragement to the improved system, the exploration of which, on reasonable exegetic principles, will never be discouraged by the Holy Office."

Now in order that I may not be misunderstood and at the risk of repeating what I have said in other words elsewhere, I will say how all this appears to be the immediate concern of ourselves as well as of our brethren. We unite with them at least in expressing our belief in a Church that is one; and what the measure of that unity ought to be we have learnt from our Lord's own lips. Next, this entire question has been treated and expounded by some of our Roman brethren not merely in our Magazines, but more particularly in our Church papers; although in the latter case it has generally taken the form, for reasons that are quite honourable and fair, of an anonymous communication.

So far as this has discovered any strained relations within the Roman Camp, I heartily trust that those relations may soon be amended; but for the rest such an appeal is evidently addressed to the entire reading public in England who are consequently expected to form a judgment in their minds upon the delicate and somewhat difficult questions involved. I cannot avoid, then, giving expression to my surprise as well as regret that in almost every instance in which comments were made and so far as they came under my notice critics were ranged on that side which was opposed to the authorities and not with the authorities themselves.

And yet I wonder what would have been said if the Pope had openly supported any of the English people in an attitude of rebellion against their sovereign. This would have been adduced at once as a proof of the dangers of Popery.

And then, last of all, I should have thought that upon such a subject as Scripture all Christians would have united in its defence and not at least appeared to support those who were resisted for seeming to attack it; that they would have made some attempt to throw oil on the troubled waters; and acted the part of mediators rather than of instigators in what is to be hoped may prove but a short lived quarrel. What we

surely, all of us, must feel is that a great battle has to be fought for the faith; and the habit of bringing together various instances, and as it were making out a case against the authorities of a Communion which in some sense at least occupies the first place in the Christian world; and this in most instances, without hearing more than one side of the question, and but little perhaps of that side; such a habit must tend to produce in the minds of many who are seeking for the truth a feeling of despondency and perhaps of disgust.

However this may be, and whether we agree, in all respects, or not with the Roman view of Scripture, at the present moment there is evidently no more jealous guardian of the Sacred Text from the first page of the Bible to the very last, than the Holy See itself; and those who love and value their Bibles ought to be the last to widen the breach between ourselves and our Roman brethren.

#### SECTION IV.—THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

The devotional language sometimes addressed to the Blessed Virgin presents another formidable difficulty to some minds; and such language it should be remembered is not peculiar to Rome, but is in fact more “free and fearless” in the Greek than in the Latin devotion.

##### I.

I will begin by setting down some instances of the Greek devotion to the Blessed Virgin:—

- (1) “Holy, Holy, Holy, art Thou, God; have mercy on us through the Theotocos.”
- (2) O Lord God Almighty, . . . . bless and hallow Thy place . . . . at the intercession (*προσβολαις*) of our Glorious Lady, Mary, Mother of God, and Ever-Virgin.”

- (3) At the Offertory at Mass, "In honour and memory of our singularly blessed glorious Queen, Mary Theotocos, and Ever-Virgin; at whose intercession, O Lord, receive, O Lord, this Sacrifice unto Thy Altar, which is beyond the heavens."
- (4) In the Commemoration at Mass. "Cantors. Hail Mary, full of grace, etc, etc. . . . for thou hast borne the Saviour of our souls. Priests [Remember Lord], especially the most Holy Immaculate, etc. . . . Mary. Cantors. It is meet truly to bless (*μακαρίζειν*) thee, the Theotocos . . . more honourable than the Cherubim . . . . thee we magnify, who art truly the Theotocos. O full of grace, in thee the whole creation rejoices, the congregations of Angels, and the race of men, O sanctified shrine, and Spiritual Paradise, boast of Virgins, etc." Jerusalem Rite.
- (5) Apparently, after the Consecration. "The Priest incenses thrice before the image (or Picture, imagine) of the Virgin, and says: Rejoice, Mary, beautiful dove, who hast borne for us God, the Word; thee we salute with the Angel Gabriel, saying, Hail, full of Grace, the Lord is with thee, Hail, Virgin, true Queen; Hail glory of our race, thou hast borne Emmanuel. We ask, remember us, O faithful advocate, in the sight of our Lord Jesus Christ, that He put away from us our sins." Alexandrian Rite.
- (6) "Let us now run earnestly to the Theotocos, sinners as we are, and bow, and let us fall in repentance, crying from the depths of our souls, Lady, aid us, taking compassion on us. Make haste, we perish under the multitude of our offences. Turn us not, thy servants, empty away: for we have thee as our only hope." And again: "My whole hope I repose in thee." Triordion, p. 94.

It is plain that such language, belonging as it does to  
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the Greek Church, is more than equal in its fulness to that of the Church of Rome, and that if it is to pass at all, in the case of any church whatever, it can only be by the application of canons which are proper to the department of devotion, and which for that very reason would be out of place and therefore beside the mark in a severe dogmatic treatise.

It can only be according to some principle in the Heavenly sphere, analogous to that which entitles us to address our mother on earth as our one and only hope, as the person who of all others can save us if she will, and in regard to whom when she is taken from us we may be allowed to say the light of our life is gone out.

## II.

And now upon what grounds is devotion of this kind understood to be based?

1. The Mother of our Lord. The one answer which is generally returned to this question is: The Blessed Virgin is the Mother of Jesus; and Jesus is the Son of God. "Jesus is the great God, and Mary is His Mother."

In looking out upon a fallen world God singled out and distinguished her from all other creatures; and Mary, on her part, responded to God's call and was obedient.

Thus St. Irenæus says: " . . . Mary, . . . being obedient, became both to herself and to the whole human race the cause of Salvation."

2. The Second Eve. Tertullian says: "For unto Eve, as yet a virgin, had crept the word which was the framer of death; equally into a virgin was to be introduced the word of God which was the builder-up of life. . . . Eve had believed the serpent; Mary believed Gabriel; the fault which the one committed by believing, the other by believing has blotted out."

Again, St. Irenæus : "The knot of Eve's disobedience received its unloosing through the obedience of Mary."

St. Justin, St. Irenæus, and Tertullian agree in speaking of the Blessed Virgin not merely as the physical instrument of the Incarnation, but as "an intelligent, responsible cause of it." Mary is regarded as having earned this stupendous honour by her faith and obedience.

Let us assign the date A.D. 145 to St. Justin, and A.D. 200 to Tertullian ; and if we here follow Newman, the former may be said to represent the East and the latter the West.

In his letter to Pusey, from which the above instances have been adduced, Newman goes on to say, in reference to these three Fathers belonging to the second century, "I have at least got so far as this, viz., that no one, who acknowledges the force of early testimony in determining Christian truth, can wonder, no one can complain, can object that we Catholics should hold a very high doctrine concerning the Blessed Virgin, unless, indeed, stronger statements can be brought for a contrary conception of her, either of as early, or at least of a later, date. But, as far as I know, no statements can be brought from the Ante-Nicene literature, to invalidate the testimony of the three Fathers concerning her ; and little can be brought against it from the fourth century, while in that fourth century the current of testimony in her behalf is as strong as in the second ; and, as to the fifth, it is far stronger than in any former time, both in its fulness and its authority. That such is the concordant verdict of "the undivided Church" will, to some extent, be seen as I proceed."

Of many passages then quoted I will mention only one from St. Jerome (331—420) : "Death by Eve, life by Mary."

"I do not know," adds Newman, "whose testimony is more important than St. Jerome's, the friend of Pope Damasus at Rome, the pupil of St. Gregory Nazianzen at Constantinople, and of Didymus in Alexandria, a

native of Dalmatia, yet an inhabitant, at different times of his life, of Gaul, Syria, and Palestine."

The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is generally understood to be bound up with this teaching of the early Fathers, that Mary was the second Eve. This doctrine stands thus:

Mary was from the first singled out from all others to be the mother of our Lord; and with a view to this end "together with the nature which she inherited from her parents, that is, her own nature, she received a superadded fulness of grace, and that from the first moment of her existence."

And this would require to be looked at in the light of Bull's exposition of the Fall, viz. that supernatural endowment, that is, Grace, was bestowed upon our first parents at the outset, and that it was lost by their disobedience afterwards. This supernatural power, called Grace, was once more let down from above, as it were, upon the second Eve, and with a view to our redemption, to enable her to undo the ruin introduced by the first Eve.

### III.

1. In the process, then, of giving to all their due we think first of God, who stands absolutely alone as the one Being having all power and yet who has never received it; and next, we turn to the creatures of His hand, and whether human or otherwise, we know that their glory, whatever may be the measure of it, is derived from Him; and that throughout the entire length and breadth of the universe, all that is not God has no power of itself to help itself, but its sufficiency is of Him.

Next it is plain that some have more power than others, whether we think of angels or of men. He hath given them their bounds, and we offer to them the honour that is their due.

Thus "we adore God; we honour and reverence His Saints;" and of these Saints the Blessed Virgin is plainly the first.

2. The Communion of Saints next comes up for our consideration; and this communion is realised by prayer. I asked a distinguished father of the Society of Jesus to explain the dignity of the Blessed Virgin from the Roman point of view and in this connection; and he said: "Our position is this: we say that when we pray it is a help to us to feel that the Blessed Virgin is by our side." I understood him to mean that within this Communion he would say of all the Saints but especially of the Blessed Virgin, "Pray with us, and pray for us."

As, then, the terms King, Teacher, Giver, are used in a secondary sense among creatures still living upon Earth; so only in a secondary sense can such terms be used of the Saints reigning with Christ in Heaven.

In the language of precision, God is the only Giver; all others are receivers, and, so far as they are men of prayer, askers. And among askers the prayers of the more saintly are understood to be the more efficacious as "The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man," is said to "avail much."

We certainly say to our friends on earth, "Pray for me," or, "Remember me in your prayers," or, "It is a great help to me to know that so many friends are praying for me;" and we do this without any intention of intruding into that direct line of relation in which we stand to Almighty God Himself; nor when we come to our own prayers does this in any sense confuse us; and our Roman friends assure us it is the same with themselves in their relations to Almighty God on the one hand and to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints on the other.



## IV.

The absolute sincerity of Newman's *Apologia* is recognised on all hands; does his witness help us here as it helped us in the matter of Tradition and Scripture? Let his words be steadily weighed, in the light of that motive which is intended to govern every word I say in this book; viz., the desire for a greater measure of agreement among all Christians in order "that the world may believe."

"Now," he writes, "it must be observed that the writings of St. Alfonso, as I knew them by the extracts commonly made from them, prejudiced me as much against the Roman Church as anything else, on account of what was called their "Mariolatry;" but there was nothing of the kind in this book (a volume of St. Alphonso Liguori's sermons, lent to him by Dr. Russell).

"I wrote to ask Dr. Russell whether anything had been left out in the translation; he answered that there certainly were omissions in one sermon about the Blessed Virgin. This omission, in the case of a book intended for Catholics, at least showed that such passages as are found in the works of Italian authors were not acceptable to every part of the Catholic world. Such devotional manifestations in honour of our Lady had been my great crux as regards Catholicism; I say frankly, I do not fully enter into them now; I trust I do not love her the less, because I cannot enter into them. They may be fully explained and defended; but sentiment and taste do not run with logic: they are suitable for Italy, but they are not suitable for England. . . . Only this I know full well now, and did not know then, that the Catholic Church allows no image of any sort, material, or immaterial, no dogmatic symbol, no rite, no Sacrament, no Saint, not even the Blessed Virgin herself, to come between the soul and its Creator. It is face to face, "solus cum solo," in all matters between

man and his God. He alone creates; He alone has redeemed; before His awful eyes we go in death; in the vision of Him is our eternal beatitude."

What a significant passage is this! How is it possible, with thoughts of Reunion in our minds, to read it and not to be moved by it?

It yields fruit surely in regard to this enterprise, in the way of experience, of proportion, and of explanation.

In the first instance the writer is as offended by some expressions of devotions to the Blessed Virgin as any one of us would be; next a Roman book falls into his hands and these expressions are conspicuous by their absence; again, on enquiry he finds they have been omitted for the sake not of Anglicans but of Catholics; witnessing to a recognition of variation within the unity of the Church; and lastly Newman gives us his own experience after nineteen years immediate and continuous contact with the very phenomenon he is considering; "Only this I know full well now, and did not know then. . . ."

## V.

If it is right, then, to seek the truth, and to be honest in our search for it; if we are expressly told that we are living under the guidance of the Holy Spirit whose office it is to lead us into all truth; and if we are sincere in the laments in which we so often indulge over "our unhappy divisions," must we not acknowledge, too, that we in our turn know now what we did not know before; and that a passage like this brings us nearer indeed to our brethren.

It suggests once more the importance everywhere of a sense of proportion, of viewing parts as parts and looking at them and judging them in reference to their proper setting and not to one of our own making.

In a Church which is in the habit of placing an image of St. Joseph on one side of the chancel screen and an

image of the Blessed Virgin on the other; the High Altar being universally recognised as the home of the Blessed Sacrament and the dwelling place of Him who is the Saviour of mankind, the real presence of Christ is after all the commanding fact; and no altar to the Blessed Virgin appears anywhere either by its relative position or its surroundings to enter into competition with this or to confuse the proportions of the faith. I am not denying the excesses into which devotional language to the Blessed Virgin may sometimes fall; nor the need for watching and correcting them; but they will be found, in such cases, to arise, I think, from the abuse and not the use of the Church's teaching; and to persist in spite of the dogmatic treatise and the pictorial representation, and not as a legitimate consequence of it.

In any case the fact remains, that the vast majority of Christians within a Church of which we claim to be a part recognise the principle and adopt the practice of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, while with ourselves such devotion is almost entirely away; that the Primitive Church to which the Church of England appeals is found to sanction, in this respect, more than the Church of England allows herself to practice, and that it is possible and reasonable to hope that at a later stage, and therefore under other circumstances, in the course of a movement which is manifestly progressive, a public opinion may grow up and spread throughout the entire Body, and so by altering our case be found also to have changed our duties.

Meantime the attitude of discussion, without any attempt to push things further, would so far be in conformity with the attitude of the Church elsewhere—at least in the West. The principle, I think, is just and important; and if, as I have suggested in regard to the enterprise as a whole, the same attitude may here be adopted as is recognised in the sphere of the law, and measures may be debated as if they had already been

passed in order to ascertain whether they ought to be passed, the prospects of Reunion will soon be found to look brighter.

## SECTION V.—INFALLIBILITY.

The next hindrance I shall consider is what is generally known as the Vatican Definition, or the dogma of Infallibility. Here, again, is it not true to say that men are more evidently right in opposing than right in what they oppose? If "infallibility" means what many among us believe it to mean, how can we do otherwise than oppose it? But has it our meaning, or a meaning of its own which is not ours?

### I.

What then does infallibility mean? I understand it to mean,—the power to pronounce a solemn and final judgment, that is a judgment which must be understood as terminating discussion, upon all questions having to do with faith and morals within the limits of the original revelation; such judgment being manifestly proclaimed for the benefit of all the faithful.

Let these limitations be carefully considered.

1. Our Lord committed the deposit of revelation to His Apostles; the sum of His teaching represents so much and no more. Say that the number 10 stands for this total deposit; in that case revelation can never come to be represented by 11, or 12, or any higher number. This is the first point and it is important to realise it. No Pope, no Council, no individual parish priest can add to the faith once for all delivered to the Saints.

2. The person or the Council, according as we view this question, who pronounces the judgment must under-

stand himself and must be understood by the faithful at large to be drawing upon the plenitude of his power for the purposes of his judgment.

3. This solemn and final judgment must be addressed to the Holy Church throughout all the world.

What our Roman brethren desiderate in us is a more precise "conception of the structural unity of a body of theological doctrine." They say that what we are opposing is a caricature of "infallibility" and not the thing itself; and that as a fact, on those comparatively rare occasions when this gift is brought into exercise, "it is for the most part a question whether a certain brick is to be laid at this or that angle, in the very limited space that is open to it, or rejected altogether."

The Pope speaks when he is moved to speak because some question comes before him, and not because some new thing to be believed has had its birth in his own brain. The questions that are in circulation throughout the Church circulate also through his brain, because he is himself part and parcel of the Church; and the utterances of his infallibility are solemn, judicial, and final.

One of such questions may be the question of the Immaculate Conception; and men will be found to be asking whether this may rightly be called a doctrine, that is, whether it belongs to the original deposit of revelation.

At length after the question has been coursing through the brains of Popes and people for some hundreds of years, a point of time comes, a climax is reached, and the moment is understood to have arrived for a verdict to be pronounced.

Throughout this long course of time the assistance of the Holy Spirit will have been with the entire Church, the Pope himself included, to enable it to see the question in all its aspects; and the same assistance will have enabled the Pope himself to hit upon the psychological moment for a final and formal consideration of the

subject and for a solemn and judicial pronouncement upon it.

Such a judicial utterance, addressed as it is to the whole Church, is said to proceed from infallibility; and the entire position, as I understand it, may henceforth be stated thus. The Immaculate Conception ever has formed part of the original revelation committed to the Apostles; for a long course of years it was allowed to be held or not as an opinion; now at length the Church has come to know its own mind upon this point and has declared it through the lips of its visible head; henceforth it must be believed as a doctrine.

However, in a question of this kind it will be best to consult such authorities as have a proper claim upon our attention.

(a) "Infallibility does not mean Inspiration, or a faculty inherent in the Pope which he can call into operation at will."

"On the contrary, it means an assistance external and conditional, which secures that when the Pope decides a point of faith or morals *ex cathedra* he shall decide it truly. This is the whole of what is meant by Infallibility. . . ."

(b) Infallibility signifies "a special assistance of the Spirit of Truth attaching to the Primacy, and therefore to the person who bears the Primacy. . . ." It "consists in this, that he is guided both as to the means and to the end. . . . The definition, therefore, carefully excludes all ordinary and common acts of the Pontiff as a private person, and also all acts of the Pontiff as a private theologian, and, again, all his acts which are not in matters of faith and morals, and, further, all acts in which he does not define a doctrine, that is, in which he does not act as supreme doctor of the Church in defining doctrines to be held by the whole Church."

"Now the word 'doctrine' here signifies a revealed

truth, traditionally handed down by the teaching authority, or magisterium."

- (c) Thus it is important either to make no use of the terms employed in this definition or to be accurate in the use we make of them.

When therefore we speak of "Personal Infallibility" we mean that infallibility is attached to the primacy and therefore to the persons who exercise the primacy. The privilege is personal therefore to Peter and to those who should succeed him.

And when the word "separate" is used, it means that infallibility was "promised to the head, that from him it should be derived to the Church." "The head of the Church, as such, can never be separated, either from the *Ecclesia docens*; that is either from the Episcopate or from the faithful. To suppose this would be to deny the perpetual indwelling office of the Holy Ghost in the Church, by which the mystical body is knit together, the head to the body, the body to the head, the members to each other. . . . As the Church can never be separated from its invisible head, so never from its visible head."

"It is matter of faith that the *Ecclesia docens* or the Episcopate, to which together with Peter, and as it were in one person with him, the assistance of the Holy Ghost was promised can never be dissolved; but it would be dissolved if it were separated from its head. Such separation would destroy the infallibility of the Church itself. . . . It is also matter of faith that not only no separation of Communion, but even no disunion of doctrine and faith between the Head and the Body, that is between the *Ecclesia docens* and *discens*, can ever exist. Both are infallible; the one actively in teaching, the other passively in believing; and both are therefore inseparably, because necessarily, united in one faith. Even though a number of bishops should fall away, as in the Arian and Nestorian heresies, yet the Episcopate could never fall away. It would always remain united, by the

indwelling of the Holy Ghost, to its head; and the reason of the inseparable union is precisely the infallibility of its head.\*

Such would appear to be the doctrine of infallibility as it is held in the Roman Church; and we must approach it not as we misunderstand it, but as our Roman brethren themselves know it, whether that approach be for purposes of attack or defence.

## II.

In the Roman schools, if I understand it rightly, the subject is proposed and considered in this shape.

1. The Church is infallible.
2. How is the voice of her infallibility to make itself heard?
3. This voice speaks through the lips of the Church's visible head.
4. As a member of the Church the Pope shares in the gift of infallibility; and as its visible head he receives special assistance to enable him to pronounce a sure and final judgment.

In the early years of the Tractarian movement the leaders expressed their belief and spoke of Anglicans as well as others being committed to a belief in the Holy Church throughout all the world; meantime our unhappy divisions and the wranglings that accompany them were understood to have silenced the voice of infallibility or made it difficult for us to hear it.

It is important to remember this, because if we are at one with our Roman brethren in holding the Church to be infallible, the further question as to the mode and form in which this gift is to come before us may be described as a domestic question. Some Roman Catholics themselves have pointed out that just because this is a definition it has set a limit to belief in infallibility and preserved it from extravagance; and not, as is too often supposed, inflicted a new, impossible, and grotesque article of faith upon a too credulous society.



On the whole the points to be carefully remembered when this question comes before us are :

- (1) That utterances which proceed from infallibility are comparatively rare.
- (2) That it is only within a severely limited area that this gift can be exercised; the Pope being hemmed in as well as guided by the original deposit itself and by previous definitions and determinations in relation to it.
- (3) That whereas, therefore, old truths may take new forms and come to the surface from within, no new truth can be added to the faith from without.
- (4) That the notion of a quasi-magical power disappears when it is remembered that divine assistance extends to the means as well as to the end.
- (5) That what are sometimes described as historical difficulties in the way of infallibility are not peculiar to papal infallibility, but will be found to confront us as really though in a different form when the notion of a visible head is away.
- (6) That in attempting to meet these difficulties there would appear to be some analogy between the conditions of Inspiration and those of Infallibility, although the latter occupies a lower place and is not to be confused with the former. Thus a distinction is everywhere being drawn between revelation and inspiration; so, it may be necessary to observe a distinction between utterances of the Church which proceed from her infallibility and utterances of the Church which do not so proceed.
- (7) That in regard to papal infallibility we have to be on our guard against misunderstanding technical terms; and especially in regard to the word "separate," it must not be misunderstood to import any separation of the head either from the Episcopate or from the faithful.

## SECTION VI.—THE ROMAN CONGREGATIONS.\*

Much interest is excited from time to time by decisions of what are known as the Roman Congregations; and since such decisions are discussed and criticised not merely in the correspondence columns but also in the leading articles of our newspapers and are put forward as constituting insuperable difficulties in the way of reunion it may be well to enquire, first, how the Congregations came into being; and next upon what principle their decisions are based; and lastly how those decisions are related to the special prerogative of infallibility which we have been considering.

## I.

An immense weight of business, of course, presses daily upon the Pope; and the Congregations were instituted, in the first instance to relieve this pressure.

Various matters come up, from time to time, for settlement; and in the exercise of his office the Pontiff seeks the help of certain committees to advise and otherwise assist him. Each committee devotes itself to some special department; thus one committee or congregation will have to do with matters of doctrine, another with discipline, another with ritual. Matters having to do with the government of Regulars and Seculars, with the appointment of members of the Hierarchy, with questions relating to censures, or to the validity of disputed marriages, questions such as these come before the several committees or congregations who have been told off to deal with them. So far they may be said to correspond to the various departments of Government, as we know it in England.

\* *The Month*, October 1884; Plettenberg Notitia Cong.

## II.

1. **The Index.** Of all these various Congregations, the two which are familiar, at least by name, to ourselves in England are the Congregation of the Inquisition, and the Congregation of the Index.

The Congregation of the Inquisition was established by Paul III in 1542, to check "the poison of the Lutheran heresy;" and is concerned with matters relating to heresy, schism, witchcraft, apostasy, and the abuse of the Sacraments; its chief office being to watch against the spread of false doctrine, whether by means of oral or written teaching. All books, therefore, suspected of unsound or dangerous teaching fall under its jurisdiction.

But this latter aspect of its work was found to involve so much labour that a Sub-Committee was appointed and thrown off, as it were, from the main body to devote itself to the question of books. It is this Sub-Committee that is now known as the Congregation of the Index, and as such, is regarded as a disciplinary, and not a dogmatic body.

Now as regards the Inquisition, three constituent parts may be said to compose the sentence which is passed by it.

1. "There is the dogmatic decision respecting the truth or falsity of the opinions expressed in the book, respecting its general tone and spirit, its loyalty or disloyalty, the effects it is likely to produce on the minds of the faithful at large, etc."

2. "There is the command issued to the author or to Catholics generally, based on this decision, and enjoining on the author the withdrawal of the book, or some similar act of submission to the authority of the Congregation, and on the faithful the duty of neither reading it themselves, nor of doing anything to promote its circulation."

3. "There is the penal sentence passed on the author which may be either absolute, or conditional, and de-

pendent on his compliance with the command enjoined upon him."

It appears to have been Benedict XIV., 1753, who laid down the principles to be followed by the Inquisition in this matter of suspected books.

- (a) The book is first to be carefully read and weighed by one of the Consultors or the advisers of the Sacred Congregation. He marks what he considers to be the chief errors in it, and sends it with his opinion about it to the other Consultors.
- (b) At the next meeting of the Consultors the book is discussed; an expression of opinion is given by each Consultor, who also gives his vote upon the question of the justice or otherwise of the charge brought against the book, and the theological vote of censure he considers it to deserve, assuming that these charges are proved.
- (c) The results of the voting and a record of the opinions of these various Consultors, are then forwarded to each of the Cardinals who compose the Congregation of the Inquisition, and it is they who have to pronounce sentence about the whole matter.
- (d) Their sentence having been pronounced, an account of the whole proceedings together with the sentence itself has to be submitted to the Pope for his sanction before the judgment can take effect.

There are many lesser matters in which the formal sanction of the Pope, without any minute examination on his part of the transaction, is considered sufficient. In such cases there is considered to be no exercise of *Infallibility*.

But where the matter is of great moment it is submitted to a meeting of the Congregation which takes place on a Thursday and over which the Pope himself presides in person. The Pope in this case acts as Prefect of the Congregation, and passes sentence in his own

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name after the Cardinals have voted as to the reality of the charge and the punishment to be inflicted.

If the Pope goes on to take the further step of making the decree his own by inserting words in it to that effect are we to say that under these significant circumstances the decree proceeds from his infallibility? This is a question upon which theologians have not as yet come to any determination. The Vatican Council, it should be remembered, was interrupted by the Franco-Prussian war precisely at that point of time when these further and more particular questions were coming up for discussion.

In the present instance, the question is whether the Pope, in confirming such decrees, acts as Head of the Congregation or as Head of the Universal Church.

At present theologians hesitate to answer this question, which is consequently left open.

On the whole, all decrees of congregations are to be obeyed, and more especially such decrees as we have alluded to.

But a distinction has to be observed between the decree which condemns speculative opinions and the decree which gives positive and practical commands. In the case of Galileo, for instance, a decree was passed condemning a certain speculative opinion, and, as the event proved, that decree was not in accordance with fact; notwithstanding this, it was still the duty of Galileo, *ex hypothesi*, to obey the practical command which enjoined upon him the duty of not teaching that opinion in public, unless and until the prohibition should be removed by the authorities. It is much the same with laws in the civil sphere; we obey them even where we feel sure they are unsatisfactory or unjust, looking forward, meantime, to some amendment which shall set them right in the future.

## III.

In turning now to the philosophy of this question, if we assume for the moment that Reunion is otherwise not impossible, the question is how far such a mode of government as is represented and exercised by the congregations is calculated to delay or to obstruct such an advance. And that I may not be misunderstood, I must again call attention to those new conditions in which we are, all of us, called upon to live; that oneness of interests, I mean, generally known as solidarity which modern progress has everywhere produced.

There is a power in our midst to-day which, according to the common phrase, minds everyone's business and offers advice to everyone upon everything. And so far as we avail ourselves of this power we shall find ourselves in the same case. Doings are reported to us, in our daily papers, from all over the world; the doings of the Jesuits in Spain, of the Jesuits in France, of the Jesuits in England. Perhaps, in regard to some cause célèbre the Jesuits are said to be at the bottom of it: and since in this country we claim to exercise our private judgment and pride ourselves upon our fairness as well as upon our freedom, it is inevitable, especially if we have yearnings after Reunion, that we should desire to look into some of these things for ourselves.

And so with the Congregations; their decisions are interesting to all Christians, and the principles of government which underlie those decisions are being debated in our midst every day.

If, for instance, the Jesuits in Spain forced a young woman into a nunnery against her own will and the will of her parents—which I do not believe for an instant—the whole cause of religion throughout the world will suffer for it; and if they are falsely alleged so to have done the whole body of Christians throughout the world ought to smart under so grave a misrepresentation.

It is scarcely fair to pose, at one moment, as cosmo-

politans for purposes of newspaper reading, and to imbibe into ourselves what are not seldom one-sided statements and prejudices in the process, and then at another moment to protest that after all we are merely Anglicans and that, as such, there is no call upon us to subject these prejudices to analysis.

There is no question, of course, as to the fairness of the Press as a whole and of its readiness to publish both sides of a question; but where it is only one side that comes under its notice those who read that one side may never have an opportunity of seeing the other.

First comes the paragraph containing a statement of alleged facts within a setting of vague rumour; then follow letters, perhaps, bearing upon it; and finally an impressive leading article.

In this and in other similar ways the atmosphere about us comes to be charged with various elements which we are constantly imbibing into our minds and which influence our judgments without our knowing it.

Then at length comes the supreme moment, and we state our conclusions about religion as a whole or "The Jesuits" in particular without being able to recall the slender, incomplete, and therefore misleading premisses upon which these conclusions are too often based.

It is out of such an atmosphere of mind as this that the old, helpless, sentimental, often cowardly, and for the most part do-nothing policy with which we are all familiar is found to emerge: "Alas, for our unhappy divisions. But then, so long as Rome is what she is there is no help for it."

#### IV.

The doings and principles of the congregations, then, are of interest to us all; and I will now go on to illustrate more particularly what I have here been saying.

In a leading article, last year, in one of the first newspapers of the day, in the course of a discussion upon

the Church's attitude towards modern science and the duty of bridging over the gulf between the new learning and the old faith, it was asserted that "Romanism deliberately rejects the duty which Anglicanism imposes on itself." And this no doubt represents the average view of the situation; but are we obliged to acquiesce in this pessimistic view of Rome, or in what should rather be described as this serious indictment of a great Communion.

How many, let us ask, of those who read these words had also read the words in the *Æterni Patris* of Leo XIII, proclaimed to the entire Roman world twenty-one years before, to the effect that the greatest need of the hour is "a philosophical doctrine that has an equal regard for the rules of faith and the dignity of human science?"

How many had read and weighed an article by one of the Jesuit Fathers in *The Month* on Scientific Research and Church Authority, a year before (June, 1899), in which the delicate question of the relations between the various sciences and the attitude of the Church towards them was carefully and equitably reasoned out?

How many had read an article in *The Dublin Review* two years before, by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Newport, in which he declares that "Leo XIII has frequently called upon Catholics to devote themselves more to exact science?"

How many readers of their newspaper subsequently read and weighed in another number of the same *Review* (October, 1900), a learned article on the subject of Physical Science *v.* Matter and Form, in which the Rev. A. H. Aherne is replying to Father Bredin, and in which the names of Father De Backer, Père Vallet, and other priests are mentioned, all of them in connection with the study of Physical Science, and the attitude of philosophy towards the facts of that science?

In the article to which I allude Father Aherne identifies himself with what he understands to be the ten-



dency of modern science, the tendency, that is, to show that all matter is but what scholastics would call "accidental" modifications of some primordial substance, probably the ether. On the other side is the theory of what is described as "Matter and Form" as expounded by Fathers De Backer, Vallet, Bredin, and others; and although Father Aherne believes his own position to be just now that which is the more likely to be true he speaks thus of his opponents: "These philosophers are confident that their position is impregnable, and they have no reason to be ashamed of their opinion, for which a good deal can be said."

And later on, in the same article, the writer quotes what he considers to be a good definition of a chemical molecule from the "*Definitiones Philosophiæ*," by the Right Rev. Mgr. Parkinson, S.T.D., the Rector of Oscott College.

How many, again, had read the article that comes next but one to this, entitled, "Theology and Modern Thought?" Father Kent there examines the whole question of modern difficulties whether in relation to modern science or historical criticism, and writes throughout in a spirit of the utmost fairness. We have already seen how Leo XIII has recognised the need of the hour to be a philosophy which recognises all that is due to Science on the one side, and to Faith on the other, a combination which everyone must acknowledge to be extremely rare. However, with a view to promote this spirit he has commended the study of St. Thomas Aquinas to all the Catholic Schools, and this being so, it is of the utmost importance to show if it can be shown, that the philosophy of St. Thomas is not therefore out of date because it was not composed in the Nineteenth Century. And this is what Father Kent seeks to show. The Scholastic Philosophy, he writes, is not to be regarded as something standing apart; it is "embodied, not in a book but in a large and varied literature;" and in the hands of St. Thomas, for instance, it is "eminently

broad and comprehensive." He points out that what St. Thomas and his compeers sought was no less than philosophy itself—"the sum of all metaphysical truth, attainable by the mind of man."

## V.

It is the fashion to assume that only writers who live in modern times can hope to throw light on modern problems; and there is, of course, an element of truth in this; St. Thomas had never met Darwin, and it was impossible in the nature of things for him to write a review of *The Origin of Species*. But it is important to distinguish. The conditions and circumstances of one age may favour the profound study of philosophy and of the fundamental questions underlying all research; an age of few books and of few means of locomotion would minister to profundity of thought; and it is likely that in the providence of God it would be intended to do so.

On the other hand, an age like the present, when the world is flooded with books, and when God is literally pouring out new discoveries into the mind of man, there must necessarily be a sufficient measure of philosophical insight to enable individual men to pursue their own line of progress, but it does not follow that they will have time or capacity for such a profound study of philosophy as shall enable them to relate their own to other departments of research. And any one who is apt to fancy St. Thomas to be out of date will do well to read the second article in *The American Ecclesiastical Review* for January in the present year (1901). It is from the pen of The Very Reverend Vincent McNabb, one of the youngest Priors in the illustrious Order to which St. Thomas himself belonged, an ardent student alike of modern problems and of the Thomistic philosophy, and with the evident promise on him already of a brilliant future, if he is spared to realise it. He will

there see how St. Thomas puts into the hands of present day thinkers intellectual instruments of exquisite subtlety and strength which have enabled them already to go a long way towards reconciling the new learning, whether of physical science or of historical criticism, to the old faith as it is presented to us in revealed fact and in that language of inspiration which is its proper vehicle.

Let men of all parties lend us their help on what may be described as the neutral lines of Reunion, and throw the entire weight of their energies into constructive as distinguished from destructive work; let them put their shoulders to the wheel of Unification and thereby help the chariot of the Church up the steep hills which shall lead us all at length into the City of Peace.

## VI.

Let us make some attempt, then, to discover and exhibit the broad principles of Government which will be found to underlie the decrees of the Congregations.

1. It is plain that our Lord deliberately withheld the teaching even of that which He knew to be certain definite truths, solely on the ground that His disciples were at that particular point of time not prepared to receive them. "I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now."

If then a human teacher, who is after all the mouth-piece of Him who is divine should declare "I have many things (among these being the discovery of the earth's motion round the sun) to say to you but you cannot bear them now; the proclamation of them at this particular point of time would throw all your beliefs into confusion and therefore disorganise your entire life;" if a human teacher should speak thus would he not, other things being equal, have a divine and eternal principle to support him?

No man knows how to teach who merely knows what he has to teach. Revelation, instruction, teaching, are

relative terms and he must know his audience as well as his subject if he is to exercise any one of the functions to which these terms correspond.

Place yourself, in imagination, for a moment in a lecture room.

You have your own platform to stand upon, with a blackboard ready to your hand; and in the course of preparing what you have to say, you write certain points on the board beforehand.

So far all is well; but have you also proceeded to step down from your platform, to place yourself on the same level with your prospective audience, and after seating yourself successively in their respective chairs to regard your own lesson from their points of view? If not, how can you certainly know that they are able to see it at all as it should be seen?

It may appear in the event that some of your audience cannot see the board at all, and that others see it so imperfectly as to misread and so misunderstand what it has to teach.

Teachers, then, in every department, and especially in the department of religion, have to be warned against the danger of neglecting this final but indispensable stage in the course of their preparation.

Apply this to revelation and the language of inspiration; and since the Jesuits are generally understood to be the most rigid exponents of the orthodox position, view the question from their standpoint.

The editor of *The Month*, for instance, in expounding the position of the Congregations lays down three principles by which they are guided in regard to the Holy Scriptures:—First, that there is a, “thus God said” behind every statement of Scripture. Secondly, that what God says is true. Thirdly, that it is true in the sense in which He says it. And these principles are the inevitable outcome of the Papal Encyclical on the study of Holy Scripture (1893). It would be impossible for our brethren to be loyal to their own visible head and to

hold less. Now putting aside in this place, the first and second of these principles, it is the third which evidently provides some space for adaptation. Our Lord then might quote from the "Books of Moses" and in so doing He would not be unmindful of His actual audience. How were His hearers accustomed to regard those books? They were accustomed to regard them as the books of Moses, and since the vital truth is that these books should be regarded as inspired and not that Moses should necessarily be their author, our Lord uses the phrase, whatever it may be, in a certain sense, that is, in the sense in which His actual audience would be then and there prepared to receive it; and we say—Perhaps in fact Moses was not the author of those books, but our Lord's words are nevertheless, true,—in the sense in which He used them. It is not enough then on the one side to be champions of the new truth merely, and on the other hand merely to protect the pupil; a true teacher combines in himself both attitudes at once.

2. If such caution and economy is necessary even in the case of ascertained truths, how much more surely must it be applied where a truth is still only in its hypothetical stage.

Thus Copernicus, who, it should not be forgotten, was an ecclesiastic and a Canon of the Roman Church, was allowed to lecture in Rome before an audience of two thousand scholars upon the new and at that time startling hypothesis of the earth's motion round the sun, and to dedicate his celebrated treatise *De Orbium Cœlestium Revolutionibus*, published at Nuremberg in 1543, to Pope Paul III. Does it therefore follow that even sixty or seventy years later Galileo should be suffered to discharge that truth broadcast upon the general multitude? The Congregation, of course, made a distinct blunder as to the matter of fact, but even if they had not done so, especially when it is remembered that Galileo adopted a querulous tone and insulted the sacred text, would it necessarily be right to proclaim his thesis

indiscriminately to the whole world. Might not our Lord's principle, "Ye cannot bear it now," rightly suggest delay?

Galileo's temper was not the temper of Copernicus, nor were their audiences in any sense identical; and the distinction in the circumstance alters the character of the case.

However this may have been, a decree was published, and it was his duty, *ex hypothesi*, to obey it. That is:

- a* To cease teaching his thesis in public in deference to the authorities;
- b* To continue to study it in private and to believe in it in spite of them.

## VIII.

This question of relativity in its various aspects deserves more attention, I think, than it generally receives.

You have been pursuing your own special line of study for years, and as you have progressed you have vaguely imagined that a general audience has perforce moved with you. But the truth, of course, is otherwise. However, you pursue your course; a succession of new truths is distilled into your mind, and you have had easy time for adjustments. But your finished results will find your hearer where you started, perhaps, and not where you are leaving off; and thus a blow which has been very gradually broken to yourself strikes with terrific and stunning effect upon him, and he falls. Thus all teachers are required to take an excursion into the minds of their hearers, and where they fail in this, authority which is interested in hearer and teacher alike steps in. But in such cases when a teacher is silenced and his books placed upon the index a large proportion of the public are apt to entertain pity for him, which is natural; little concern for those on whose behalf the Church has intervened which shows want of sympathy; and contempt for the authorities which is for the most

part unjust; the assumption being that because they judge it right to stay the treatise they therefore wish to stop the truth.

This position in any case, is illustrated by a document of peculiar and special interest bearing on the Copernican theory. It is in the form of a letter and includes a quotation from Père Fabry, the learned Jesuit, and Penitentiary of St. Peter at Rome, which will serve to show how this principle of relativity was recognised at the particular period of time to which it relates:—

From a letter by — Hook (author of *Micrographia*, or “a small French tract” lately written by M. Auzout), to a country-man of his, Monsieur L’Abbé Charles, on Object Glasses, etc.

“He also taketh occasion to intimate, that we need not scruple to conclude, that if these two *Planets* have *Moons* wheeling about them, as our *Earth* hath one that moves about it, the conformity of these *Moons* with our *Moon* does prove the conformity of our *Earth* with those *Planets*, which carrying away their *Moons* with themselves do turn about the *Sun* and very probably make their *Moons* turn about them in turning themselves about their *Axis*; and also, that there is no cause to invent perplex’d and incredible *Hypotheses* for the receding from this *Analogie* since (saith he) if this be truth, the Prohibitions of publishing this doctrine which formerly were caused by the offence of novelty, will be laid aside, as one of the most zealous doctors of the contrary opinion hath given cause to hope, witness *Eustachius de Divinis*, in his *Tract* against Monsieur Hugen’s *Système of Saturn*, p. 49, where we are inform’d that that learned Jesuit, *P. Fabry*, Penitentiary of *St. Peter* in *Rome*, speaks to this purpose.

It hath been more than once asked of your Chieftains whether they had a Demonstration for asserting the motion of the earth?

Ex vestris, usque Coryphæis non semel quæsitum est, utrum aliquam haberent demonstrationem pro *Terræ motu* adstruendo.

They durst never yet affirm they had; wherefore nothing hinders, but that the Church may understand those Scripture-places that speak of this matter, in a *literal* sense, and declare they should be so understood as long as the contrary is not evinced by any demonstration, which, if perhaps it should be found out by you (which I can hardly believe it will), in this case the Church will not at all scruple to declare that these places are to be understood in a figurative and improper sence, according to that of the poet, *Terræque Urbesque recedunt*.

Nunquam ausi sunt id asserere. Nil igitur obstat, quin loca illa in sensu literali Ecclesia intelligat, & intelligenda esse declaret, quam diu nulla demonstratione contrarium evincitur; quæ si forte aliquando à vobis excogitetur (quod vix crediderim) in hoc casu nullo modo dubitabit Ecclesia declarare, loca illa in sensu figurato et improprio intelligenda esse, ut illud Poetæ, *Terræque Urbesque recedunt*.

Whence this Author concludes that the said *Jesuite* assuring us that the *inquisition* hath not *absolutely* declared that those Scripture-places are to be understood *literally*, seeing that the *Church* may make a contrary declaration, no man ought to scruple to follow the *Hypothesis* of the *Earth's motion*, but only forbear to maintain it in *publick* till the prohibition be called in.

*Phil. Trans.*, I, No. 4, June 5, 1665, pp. 74-5.

It is on grounds such as these that some priests in our Communion, if I understand it rightly, have given up, at least for the present, the ceremonial use of incense; the Bishops having practically said to them "You may keep your opinions but you must give up your incense." Nor would there be any inconsistency surely in reversing this decision later on and removing the prohibition; on the ground that the people were by that time "able to bear it."

As regards the famous instance of the Copernican



theory to which allusion has already been made, it is difficult for us at this distance of time to realise how confusing and even stunning the announcement of the new theory must have proved when it was first made to the world at large, and how necessary it therefore was for those in authority to break the blow as far as they justly might, by allowing students to follow the hypothesis in private but not to publish it abroad until after it had passed out of the hypothetical stage into the light of established truth.

## SECTION VII.—EXCOMMUNICATION.

It may be well to say some special words about the exercise of this discipline in its more acute forms.

### I.

And here we shall soon come to recognise that the Inquisition and the Index, and the severe discipline of Excommunication are not peculiar to the Roman Church but will be found to reappear in other settings or departments of life.

In our own day the Inquisition has had its sittings in what are known as the Law Courts; priests have been tried before a judge and condemned to punishment, not in a dungeon but in an ordinary cell; and have subsequently served their time in prison. A party in our own Church at the present time is insisting upon "deprivation" by Act of Parliament; and an article in one of our leading papers, quoted by me in another place, protests that the only plan for retaining the two extreme parties within the Church is "the strict enforcement of the law against those who violate it." What are these but old grievances reappearing under new names?

I am speaking here of principles as distinguished from any special application of them ; and so far the State on the one side would seem to echo back the verdict of the Roman Church on the other, that where there is, *ex hypothesi*, an obstinate infringement of the law, a Court of Inquisition must be held, and the discipline of ex-communication duly administered ; according to the principle laid down by Burke : " Conciliation failing, force remains ; " and the only further alternative is—the conversion of a society into a crowd.

## II.

The principle obtains everywhere. In the Navy and in the Army ; in the Houses of Parliament ; in our Public Schools ; in Clubs of every description, and in the building of the Church itself during the hours of divine worship—in all these cases, and in others that might be named, after the process of conciliation has been going forward for some time, it is recognised, as by a sort of instinct, that a moment has at length arrived, and that such a moment represents a climax ; it has now become necessary to speak out " Recant or retire ; otherwise I shall definitely expel you."

Nor is this discipline restricted to the moral plane ; an answer is ready for the General in the field, who pleads that he did his utmost and acted conscientiously throughout. " Possibly ; but in spite of your good intentions, we find that in fact you were misleading your men in each one of these momentous engagements ; and we must protect them from your incompetence in the future."

Members of Parliament are not suffered to reopen questions that have once been definitely settled ; in case of any attempt on their part to do so their mouths are instantly and summarily closed ; and this is recognised as an elementary principle of self-protection on the part of the House to enable business to go forward ; and

where they persistently defy the rules of the House they are turned out.

It is the same with the Public School boy: at a certain stage in his career he is required to have attained a certain intellectual level; he falls short of this and is requested to withdraw; the multiplication and accumulation of such cases would lower the standard of the whole school. And in the sphere of morals a bad boy is watched, and then gravely admonished, until at length, conciliation having failed, force alone remains and he is expelled.

The same refrain is heard in each case: "Unless this individual, or this group of individuals be compelled to withdraw, the mischief will spread, and the society evaporate."

And even that principle adopted by the Index but so severely criticised by some of our Roman Catholic brethren themselves; the principle, I mean, of hearing evidence with a view to pronouncing a verdict and of declining to give reasons for that verdict afterwards; even this finds its counterpart elsewhere. "Give your decisions," was the well-known advice of an older judge to one who had recently been raised to the Bench, "Give your decisions, but do not give your reasons for them; for your decisions are likely to be right, but your reasons may often be wrong." In any case Excommunication, so far from being a worn-out tool, is found to be in constant use everywhere; and the instinct which gives birth to it is parallel to what is known as the dread of infection in the case of bodily disease.

I am not, of course, saying that the illustrations I have quoted present in every case or in any case a precise parallel to the question before us, but they would certainly appear to support the broad principle of government that freedom, and toleration which is the proper correlative of freedom, have their limits, and that the observance of these limits must, if necessary, be enforced.

After 300 years, then, of absolute toleration within the sphere of the Anglican Communion itself, with one grave exception to which I have elsewhere alluded, the principle may, I think, be said to have broken down before our eyes.

We first allow diametrically opposite doctrines to be taught over a long course of years until at length they become stereotyped; and then the cry goes up of "Our Unhappy Divisions," and how we are to heal them; until experience convinces us, in this as in other instances, that prevention is better than cure, and excommunication at the outset more to be desired than disruption in the event.

For my own part, then, I should welcome the recovery of this particular form of discipline in our midst, and that quite independently of the question as to how it would operate upon the several schools of thought around us. Some such proper limitations must, I think, be forthcoming if that licence which at present enslaves us is to give place to genuine freedom.

### III.

In the physical plane the law tends to become more severe and stringent in proportion as we ourselves become more civilised; and in our own day an infected body is at once withdrawn from society and relegated to the fever ward until such time as it shall recant and recover itself.

Here, again, we have Consultors, a careful diagnosis, and a verdict duly pronounced and executed; the Congregation in this case being the Congregation of the Medical Index; and only where the body, as it may be said, repents, that is, conforms once again to those laws for the infringement of which it was originally excommunicated, is it suffered to resume its place once more in its proper setting or society.

Now holiness, and faith of which it is the outcome.

are to the soul what health is to the body ; and the question is whether the multitude of persons in this case shall be suffered to come into contact with spiritual infection, or whether the Sanitary, that is, the Ecclesiastical authorities shall intervene to prevent them. In either case, whether the patient realises his condition or no, is not the question.

Private judgment is severely over-ruled in the matter of the body, and, it is thought necessary, *ex hypothesi*, to over-rule it also in the matter of the soul. James Mozley died some twenty years ago but the influence of his teaching is still with us ; and there is an undesigned coincidence of a remarkable character between a passage in one of his Essays and a paragraph in the *Roman Catholic Pastoral* from which I have already quoted, which serves to illustrate the grave misgivings in the minds of the Bishops when they are led thus to sound the note of warning, or, where the mischief is evidently spreading, to employ more stringent measures still.

The parallel will be more evident if I set the two utterances side by side :

#### ROMAN CATHOLIC PASTORAL.

Divine faith is a supernatural gift which may be lost through our own fault. It may be forfeited—indirectly by neglect of prayer and the Sacraments, and by the deadening effect upon the mind of an immoral life ; and directly by habitual indulgence in thoughts and speculations against faith. Temptations against faith are generated and wonderfully strengthened and disseminated by sneering and profane con-

#### MOZLEY'S ESSAY.

The Church watches anxiously over the department of the human intellect, and cautions man against his dangers there. She tells him, You may not see so clearly sin here as you do in the bodily instance ; it is not so palpable as ocular tangible sin is, but it is as real. Look into it yourself ; do you not feel an excitement, a stimulus, a pungency in pursuing an intellectual process ? Does not a particular movement, accompanied with pleasure

### ROMAN CATHOLIC PASTORAL.—*con.*

versation and carping criticisms, in which mind stimulates mind in an unholy rivalry of unbelief. "The tongue is a fire—a world of iniquity—an unquiet evil, full of deadly poison" (James iii, 5).

### HOW RATIONALISM IS IMBIBED.

But indiscriminate reading is, perhaps, the most insidious form under which the poison of rationalism and unbelief is injected into the soul. Without attracting attention men, and women, too, take up books or magazines that lie about, and, as it were casually, turn to the cleverly written and highly spiced articles against their faith, which they find therein. Their minds have no tincture of philosophical or theological training; they possess no antidote to the poisonous draught. But they read on without excuse or necessity, allured by fashion, curiosity, or a desire to taste of forbidden fruit. A common result eventually produced by indulgence of this sort is, either distrust of the Church, doubts of revela-

MOZLEY'S ESSAY.—*con.* carry you along? Examine this, and see if it has not the same substantial liability to sin that an operation of animal nature has. Is not this movement, whatever it is, a something which may become sin, just as a movement of the sensual appetite may? Even the sensual movement is not itself sin, it only may become such; it has an inherent tendency to do so. Has not this intellectual movement the same? Reflect how you think, and how you are internally influenced while you are thinking and following out a speculation. As you go along do you not, independently of their bare truth, or supposed truth, acquire a partiality to your thoughts because you think them? And does not this partiality act very deeply? Will not this deep subtle pleasure in your own ideas tempt you to prefer them to truth, if truth comes in their way, and so denying truth, to adopt a falsehood? If so, everything has taken place that takes place in a sin of sense; there is a sinful tendency, and that tendency has reached a climax and an act. The process of

### HOW RATIONALISM IS IMBIBED.—*con.*

tion and of the existence of God Himself, ending in secret or open unbelief; or a general loosening of the spiritual ties and bonds that hold the religious structure of life together. Hence loss of the instincts of faith and a liberal Catholicism, in which semi-rationalism has secured a permanent lodgement. Feeding the mind and imagination upon arguments and pictures against the virtue of faith must end as fatally to the soul as feeding them upon lascivious suggestions and forbidden images. Faith and chastity are equally gifts of God, that need careful guardianship; for they that love the danger shall perish in it. To say that it is impossible to get away from the literature of the day is only to say that in the choice of what to read and what to avoid, the exercise of a wise discretion and of a strong will are absolutely necessary. To read, without necessity, matter calculated to create doubt or to sap faith, is a sin against religion and the first commandment.

MOZLEY'S ESSAY.—*con.*  
pure speculation is capable of sin. So speaks the Church.

The intellect, in her view, exhibits on inspection all the circumstances and phenomena as a field of sin that the flesh does—pleasurable sensation, stimulus, excitement; only having them invisibly, and not visibly. . . . . As the undisciplined bodily appetite rushes into grossness, so the undisciplined intellect abandons itself to a lie—the former issues in carnal sin, the latter in the sin of heresy.

Should the way, then, be otherwise prepared, however gradually, for ultimate Reunion with the Holy See, it does not appear how the principle of the Index would necessarily intervene to hinder it.

### SECTION VIII.—PENANCE.

The Sacrament of Penance is understood to comprise three parts: Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction; and in order, so far, to clear our minds we may set it down thus:—

The Sacrament of Penance: 1, Contrition; 2, Confession; 3, Satisfaction.

Contrition means sorrow towards God for sin.

Confession means saying out to God what my sin is in order that it may be forgiven.

Satisfaction means doing such penance as shall have been imposed after Confession.

1. Contrition. Mere vexation because our character is lowered in the eyes of others must not be mistaken for contrition; nor will our sorrow towards God suffice unless it include also the giving up of our old sin, the purpose to lead a new life, and the hatred for our old life. Contrition holds the first place in the several acts of penance and, in case of normal opportunities being away, must be understood to suffice.

Thus, under extraordinary circumstances, a man might not be able to make his confession or therefore to do any duly imposed penance, and yet, if he should have realised a true contrition, that one act would be accepted by God as though he had fulfilled the remaining acts also. “She (the Church) holds that a soul laden with the most enormous offences, in deed as well as thought, a savage tyrant, who delighted in cruelty, an habitual adulterer, a murderer, a blasphemer, who has scoffed at religion through a long life, and corrupted every soul



which he could bring within his influence, who has loathed the sacred name, and cursed his Saviour; that such a man can under circumstances, in a moment, by one thought of the heart, by one true act of contrition, reconcile himself to Almighty God (through His secret grace), without sacrament, without priest, and be as clean, and fair, and lovely, as if he had never sinned." These words of Newman in his famous Lectures to Anglicans will serve to show what is the essential act not merely in the eyes of Roman Catholics, but surely also of Anglicans and Nonconformists. Upon this, the essential point in the Sacrament of Penance, there is absolute agreement throughout the entire length and breadth of the Christian world. It is good, then, for us to be here. The question of Reunion in this particular aspect of it, is—Can Nonconformists and a vast number of Anglicans after steadily contemplating the evidence, entertain any hope of coming to agree with Roman Catholics as to the second and third acts of this sacrament?

2. Confession. The saying out to God not merely that we have sinned but what our several sins are. The action of Confession is directed primarily to God, and secondarily, if it so be, to man as the visible representative of God.

The reality of the Incarnation—the union of the human and the divine nature within the one Person of our Saviour—must be kept before the mind when we are studying the Sacraments; the whole Sacramental system having been described as the extension of the Incarnation: and a distinction is to be recognised between acts of Confession which we may be constantly performing when alone in the presence of God only, and Sacramental Confession which is performed in the presence of the ministerial priest also. In the former case our Confession is heard by God and ourselves; in the latter it is heard also by the ministerial priest.

It may be well to set down a form which is very

generally used for purposes of Sacramental Confession, and so to illustrate the primary and secondary sense which I have been describing.

- (a) The ministerial priest, vested in cassock, surplice and stole, is seated in the Confessional, and a wooden partition separates him from the penitent who kneels on the other side; an opening being made sometimes in the form of a grating, in the partition, through which the words of Confession may be said from the one side, and the words of Absolution, and of direction, if the minister thinks well to add them, from the other.
- (b) The penitent crossing himself, thus proceeds :—" In the Name of the Father, and . . . . I confess to God the Father Almighty, to His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, and to God the Holy Ghost, before the whole company of Heaven, and to you my Father, that I have sinned exceedingly in thought, word, and deed, by my fault, by my own fault, by my most grievous fault, especially I accuse myself that (since my last confession which was . . . . ago) I have sinned.

in this way  
in that way,  
etc., etc.

For these and all my other sins which I cannot now remember, I am heartily sorry, firmly purpose amendment, most humbly ask pardon of God, and of you, my Spiritual Father, penance, counsel and absolution. Wherefore I pray God the Father Almighty, His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, and God the Holy Ghost to have mercy upon me, and you, my Father, to pray for me to the Lord our God. Amen.

- (c) The priest gives direction, if it so be, just as an Evangelical Clergyman or a Nonconformist Minister might, and if he believes the penitent to be truly contrite pronounces absolution.

“ Our Lord Jesus Christ who hath left power to His Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him of His great mercy forgive thee thine offences ; and by His authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.”

(Visitation Office, Prayer Book.)

With such words before us, belonging as they do to the Office of the Visitation of the Sick, it will scarcely be disputed that the Church of England recognises the principle of Sacramental Confession, however true it may be to say that she does not countenance the enforcement of it.

Nineteen years after his secession Newman gave his own testimony on this point. “ The Church of England,” he wrote, “ has retained Confession, nay, Sacramental Confession. No fair man can read the form of Absolution in the Anglican prayer in the Visitation of the Sick without seeing that the Church does sanction and provide for Confession and Absolution. If that form does not contain the profession of a grave sacramental act, words have no meaning. The form is almost in the words of the Roman form. . . .”

So far the Church of England coincides with the Church of Rome upon the subject of Penance. She differs from Rome as to the regulation of the Sacrament but not as to its reality.

3. Satisfaction. The doing of such penance as shall have been imposed after Confession.

In ordinary cases this may signify the repetition of some Psalm or Prayer at one's ordinary devotions for a certain length of time ; such an exercise being not seldom selected with a special view to the sin which is of all others the sinner's besetting sin.

In the early days of the Church all sin committed after baptism was viewed as a very grave thing indeed ; and very heavy penances were imposed. The confession

was made in public before the congregation in the case of known sins. Sometimes the penance involved expulsion from all services of the Church or Sacraments; and this sometimes for weeks, or months, or years, or until death.

I shall say more words presently upon the subject of Indulgences. I will merely add here that the notice we sometimes see on the door of a Roman Church that "An Indulgence of three hundred days will be granted" under certain conditions is to be traced to these early forms of discipline. In other words the Church used in those early times to impose penance of so many days, or months, or years, and she has continued to use the same language up to the present.

Now, as I shall go on to explain, in regard to every sin there are two things upon which attention has to be fastened.

1. The guilt. A person who has committed sin and has not yet been forgiven, is liable to eternal punishment; this is what is meant by saying he is guilty. And when he receives absolution his guilt is put away: he is forgiven and is therefore no more liable to eternal punishment.

2. Temporal punishment. In spite of having been forgiven, some measure of punishment is for the soul's good.

How much should this punishment be? The Church after having prayerfully considered this question announces her decision—"I think God would be satisfied by such and such a punishment."

Here then is where satisfaction appears.

Thus, on the whole, it would appear that on the sinner's part there can be no hope of forgiveness without true contrition; and, under normal circumstances he is required to proceed to the second and third Acts of Penance, viz., to Confession and Satisfaction; while on the part of the priest there is the hearing of the Confession; he hears what it is the penitent says as he dis-

covers his several sins to God before the whole company of Heaven and to himself (the priest); there is Absolution pronounced in the name of God; if the minister think fit, there is direction; and then, acting in the name of God and as a minister of His Church, he imposes penance.

# I.

I will now go on to say some words as to the principles involved in this great situation of the Church.

1. Process of Justification. I shall make some attempt here to follow the teaching of Cardinal Wiseman, and I think it will then appear how much there is in his exposition to which not merely an Anglican but a godly Nonconformist will gladly subscribe his assent.

- (a) The aim of our Saviour's work is—to rescue man from sin.
- (b) The work of Redemption is completed. There is nothing for Christ to add. He cannot die again; nor can He, therefore, rise again.
- (c) The question for us, then, is how this finished work is to be applied to our souls.
- (d) For this, there must be some co-operation on our part.
- (e) Thus, so far, (1) It stands as a great fact outside us. (2) There must be a means by which it can be individually applied.
- (f) How does it stand in other cases? *e.g.*, In Baptism, the blood of Christ is applied to the sanctification of man in the waters of regeneration. Here it is applied by means of the outward act and ministration of man. In this case, the case of original sin, we have had no personal participation. How much more then in post baptismal sins where there have been deliberate acts on the part of the person. Furthermore,

the child in baptism is interrogated and gives promise of his fidelity, and makes confession of his faith before mankind.

The way being so far cleared for the principle of outward ministration, we pass on now to

(g) The Soul's Progress :—

- (1) There is the terror of God's judgment.
- (2) There is next—faith in Christ's redemptive work.
- (3) After balancing God's mercy against His judgment the sinner is led to hope.
- (4) Love then becomes mingled with fear; fear becoming, now, the fear of the child and not of the slave.
- (5) The soul at last is inflamed with the love of God. St. Luke vii, 47, "Her sins which are many are forgiven because she loved much."
- (6) Thus Faith is the principal root of justification; and "this progress of justification begins in that faith and ends in the application of the Blood of our Redeemer as the only means of Salvation."

Such is in substance the exposition of Cardinal Wiseman. All this is the progressive preparation for that act of Penance which has been already described as the essential act, viz., Contrition. And it will be observed that the process throughout is restricted to the relations between the soul and God.

Sin robs our pockets, ruins our health, and destroys our reputation in the eyes of our neighbour; but such considerations as these although they constitute natural punishments and warnings and are calculated to set us thinking, do not form part of the essential idea of contrition; whose starting point and congenial home is the heart of man, and whose activities are directed from first to last towards God. "Against thee only have I sinned."

The penitent after passing through this process of preparation comes forward to make his confession and we see

him taking his place and doing his part in the setting of that complex situation which is known as the Sacrament of Penance.

## II.

Now let us suppose that a so called penitent comes forward without due preparation and kneels in the Confessional without this true contrition, it should be clearly understood that he goes away afterwards "still more heavily laden than when he approached." It is important to realise this, because it shows how mistaken those are who imagine that the Sacraments and other Services of the Church are supposed to act as a charm apart from any adequate dispositions in the heart of the worshipper. The absolution of the priest has no avail in the sight of God, unless there be true contrition on the part of the penitent, and the penitent who thus carelessly approaches this Sacrament "commits an enormous sacrilege."

This will answer one objection not seldom urged against the practice of Confession, that it betrays people into a habit of sinning freely because there is ever before their eyes the prospect of being freely forgiven.

I wish to give no offence; but if those who go to Confession think that they have but little to do to obtain forgiveness, how much do many of those do who expect forgiveness without any such outward act before God?

## III.

It is a Catholic principle that "everything which is truly interior must . . . be outwardly expressed: the love for Christ in our interior must manifest itself externally in works of charity to the brethren, and what we do unto these we do unto Him also. It is the same with contrition and confession of sins before God

—an act itself purely internal; if it be deep, strong, and energetic it seeks an outward manifestation, and becomes the Sacramental Confession before the Priest, and what we do to him, we do unto Christ likewise, whose place he represents.”

“Origen rightly compares sin to an indigestible food, which occasions sickness at the stomach till it has been thrown off by a motion from the bowels. Even so is the sinner tormented with internal pain, and then only enjoys quiet and full health when, by means of Confession, he hath as it were eased himself of the noxious internal stuff.”

“Two enemies who wish for a sincere reconciliation, and in their hearts despise their hatred will certainly feel themselves forced to avow to each other their mutual injustice; and it is only by means of this confession that their reconciliation becomes sincere, and peace is restored to their souls. For man is so constituted that he doth not believe in his interior feelings unless he see them in an outward manifestation; and in fact an internal sentiment is then only ripened to consummation when it has acquired an outward shape.”

“Moreover a true confession to God cannot be indefinite; for our sins are not merely abstract; we are guilty of specific definite transgressions: and so a true confession of sin to God is one necessarily entering into minute details; consequently a confession to the priest is necessary.”

This passage discovered a new light to myself when first I read it, and I have transcribed it for the benefit of others who may not have seen it before. It discloses an aspect of Confession which will I think prove interesting to every one—the relief it must ever give to the soul to be rid of the burden of its sin.

Much of the unhealthy gossip of our parishes is due to a sense of this want without any knowledge of the proper means for relieving it. Nothing is more common than to hear people say, “I felt I could not keep this in



any longer ; so I came to tell you as the oldest friend I have." In such cases the obligation of silence, not being recognised as a religious duty, is too often lightly cast aside, and the disclosure spreads itself out in little ripples of unfaithfulness until the entire surface of society is ruffled and disturbed.

On the other hand, where minds are at once reserved and alive to the danger of such betrayals, the secret, whether in the shape of sin or of perplexity, conceals itself within until after the long strain occasioned by the attempt to be one thing and to pretend to be another, it undermines the bodily health and eats away the heart. There would be fewer cases of insanity if there were more cases of confession.

#### IV.

But now, if we turn from the penitent to the priest, and view him sitting there in the tribunal of Penance, as it is sometimes called, our first impulse is to be shocked at the pride of a mere man, no better himself perhaps than the one who kneels to confess before him ; this, we are tempted to exclaim, is priestcraft in the very essence of the thing ; this it is that ministers to man's pride, and gives to him that power over the souls of others which he could not otherwise hope to possess.

Now, while frankly allowing the force of the objection that underlies such criticism as this ; allowing, I mean, that abuses have from time to time brought the ministry of reconciliation into contempt or made it an object of suspicion and dislike in the eyes of the world, I wish to see whether the use of this ministration as distinguished from its abuse does not find its counterpart in other departments of life.

Let us go together to some Court of Justice and see the Judge seated on his throne vested in his cassock—I should say his robes of office.

There is a Confessional box within the setting of this

situation also ; and a prisoner is said to stand before the the bar of Justice—what language is this I hear ! what horrible and ceremonious usurpation of a work that belongs only to God ? Proud man daring to place himself between the soul of the sinner and its God ! “ Now, Sir ”—I hear a voice begin—“ I’m going to ask you questions about yourself ; I’m determined to get to the bottom of this matter.” “ What ” ! interposes the prisoner, “ is not my sin a matter between myself and my Maker ? ” But the voice of the questioner soon puts him to silence or brings him to his senses. “ Now sir, listen to me, I don’t intend to put up with any impertinence on your part ; what you have to do is to answer the questions I shall propose to you ; and be careful what you are saying.” “ My Lord,” turning to the Judge, “ I think your lordship will see the necessity of pressing the prisoner on this point ? ” The Judge signifies his assent. . . . But is the confession of his crime to be dragged from this poor man thus, in the presence of the whole Court, and the secrets of his innermost life exposed to the rude comments of an unsympathetic audience ?

Here, then, we have public Confession also. Presently the sentence is passed ; and sometimes it is the awful sentence of death. Such is the climax to a situation which is as shocking, as it is certainly profane. A wonderful and horrible thing is this ; mere man setting himself up above his fellows ; above one, moreover, whose life may have been on the whole as good as his own—daring to pronounce judgment thus ! All this pomp and ceremonial, too !

Let it be remembered that the question as between public and private Confessions is one not of principle but of discipline. Specific sins were confessed in public in the Early Church, and that accounts for the absence of records relating to Private Confessions. Experience afterwards went to show that mercy to the penitent and consideration also for the Congregation demanded Pri-

vate Confession as the wiser course. But the point before us relates to the distribution of power amongst men, and in relation to the sins of the soul.

But this situation, it may be said, is open and above board; it is before the eyes of the public; Confession to a priest is in secret.

But is it to be imagined, then, that the disclosure of secret sins, and sins of every kind whatsoever will cease because the concrete situation of Sacramental Confession is shut out?

People in this actual world will open their hearts in private sitting-rooms if they may not do it elsewhere. No legislation or any other form of power will prevent this; it cannot do so in the very nature of things; and is the informal meeting in a private chamber to be preferred to a recognised service in Church; with formal safeguards, precedents and principles to control and secure it?

Confession is not peculiar to the Church of Christ; natural religion suggests it where there is not the presence of supernatural revelation to impose it.

The Church, then, seems to say, "Even from this point of view, merely, it is safer to recognise facts and to bring them out and include them within the circle of formal control and responsibility.

## V.

But again to view the matter from another standpoint. Why so many questions in a court of justice to the prisoner at the bar? Surely because he is on his defence; his object presumably being to conceal from the court what he is, and not to disclose it. The exact reverse of this appears in the Confessional. There you have one who has come forward of his own freewill, for after all, whatever the laws in any part of the Church may be, there is no such thing as enforced Confession. And if it be said that a penitent may be practically

forced by an influence on the part of the priest which is the reverse of wholesome; this would I think be an exceptional case, and one which is equally possible without any Sacramental Confession at all. The penitent in this case, then, comes forward for the express purpose of unfolding and not of concealing himself; and this is why as a matter of fact so few questions are ever put in the Confessional; and an educated public is now beginning to realise that this ministration is regulated by its own proper principles, and that it is easy to ascertain from those who make a practice of private Confession whether they are in fact pursued by such questioning or not; and this without any intrusion into the sacred character of the situation.

But why, it may be said, should the penitent enter into the particulars of his life? Surely, because we cannot pronounce judgment upon any particular case without having the facts of the case before us. Such facts provide the necessary materials for forming a judgment and therefore also for pronouncing one. The penitent comes forward and asks—for what? For absolution. The priest, on his part, therefore asks: Forgiveness for what? For sin—is not an adequate answer to this question; it is not accepted in other spheres of life. And we all recognise a practical distinction between mortal and venial sins when we are not thinking of theology as such, however inaccurately we may draw the line of that distinction.

## VI.

Now to crown this language of explanation we have the momentous words of our Lord Himself when He declares to His Apostles “Whosoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven, and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.” This shows at once that the solemn words of our Saviour cannot be obeyed apart from a particular confession.

The Church has a power under God to retain sins, that is, to withhold absolution if she thinks fit, and not merely to pronounce it. To withhold absolution for what?

And last of all, there is the presiding idea of a visible kingdom on earth which implies government and requires an authority for the purpose of punishing offences against its laws and principles.

## VII.

If, then, we glance back at what has been said I would fasten the attention of the reader upon what may here be conveniently described as the alphabet of justification (pp. 346, 347); and we shall then see, I venture to think, that many of us, whether Anglicans or Non-conformists, go along with the full Catholic position up to a certain point, our difference with it appearing in what Catholics would describe as our shortcomings; in other words in order to come to a full agreement we should have nothing to give up; the only question would be whether we could go on to accept more; and I have purposely thrown that portion of our subject into a series of statements in order that we may see how far we can travel in the progressive course of agreement at the present, and then passed to an examination of the later or more advanced propositions afterwards.

Do we not find, many of us, that in attempting to preach to our people and to bring home to them what we have to say, and in other ways to come to close quarters with them, private confession or something, perhaps, which is but a poor substitute for it becomes almost a necessary means to this end?

And as regards that which is of the very substance of this Sacrament, the forgiveness of sins, do we not feel how difficult it is to make this a reality without this means of Grace. And once more, as regards the clergy and the power of order (Receive the Holy Ghost . . . .

whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, etc.) do we not feel that this power should be brought to bear upon those many people and occasions for which it was intended? If, that is, we view the subject of Confession and Absolution in the light of the Church's entire history, that is, in its true proportions, does the Absolution which we read in the Holy Eucharist and at the choir offices appear adequately to fulfil what the Ordination Service would lead us to expect.

## SECTION IX.—INDULGENCES.

A case which recently came up in regard to Indulgences will be in the memory of some of us, and in recalling the circumstances I shall be found to remove, incidentally, the most damaging perhaps of all the many misunderstandings which serve to keep us apart from our brethren. At the same time its actual history supplies an impressive illustration of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of overtaking a lie once it has had a fair start.

### I.

In the *Nineteenth Century*, towards the close of the year 1900, an article appeared under the title "Vulgarising Ober-Ammergau."

After some allusions to those who attended the Play on the last occasion the writer goes on to say that "the great head of the Church himself . . ." (wishing to confer some mark of favour on Josef Mayr, who used to take the part of our Lord in the play) "has bestowed upon him a pardon not only for all his own sins, past, present and future, but also with an utterly lavish generosity for those of his children. It is with a face of genuine pride and wholesome satisfaction that this

grey-bearded child of Rome shows to a few favoured visitors the slip of paper, signed by the Pope, which means so much to him and his."

Such is the misunderstanding; and now for the explanation.

By the courtesy of Mr. Hugo Lang, who sent a translation of the article in question to Herr Josef Mayr, I am allowed to transcribe the answer he received, comprising not only Herr Mayr's own words but an explanation of the document, elicited by him from a Roman Catholic priest in high position.

Herr Josef Mayr writes:—"The document in question with a portrait of the Pope has been hanging in my sitting-room since the year 1890, when I received it. It is there for anybody to see or read, who cares to and understands Latin. It is nothing but a "special blessing of the Holy Father" which blessing also confers, I believe, what we call an *Abläss*; but a pardon for sins to be committed is simply inconceivable!"

"A Roman Catholic priest of high position gives me this explanation:—

"The Document in question is a blessing by the Pope, to which is attached an indulgence at the hour of death.

"It is not any pardon for sin, much less a leave to commit sin (the latter assertion is downright blasphemous).

"It is only remission at the hour of death of certain punishments due to sin—on condition the person is free from sin (that is after Confession and Communion)."

The writer of the article has apologised for the unintentional misrepresentation; and we can only trust that the thousands of readers who saw the statement will have also seen the explanation.

But this hope, I fear, is vain, for a correspondent in Holland who has lately joined the English Church, writes in relation to the subject of my book, and this, it will be observed, three whole months after the explanation had appeared:—"You remember our conversation about Indulgences. Now this is, to my idea, carrying

"things too far. Mayr, who used to take the part of Christus, got from the Pope a pardon for all his sins, past, present, and future, and the same for his children. That is downright wicked blasphemy; one cannot forgive a sin before one knows what it is. This paper the man showed himself to a friend, it was his greatest treasure. Now when the head of a Church gives such absolutions it is as bad as it was in Luther's time."

Here is the statement of a highly-educated, earnest-minded lady; and how absolutely convinced she is by the circumstantial evidence! "This paper the man showed himself to a friend. . . ." And yet there are those still among us who say there is no work to be done for reunion, and no hope—while Rome is what she is! . . . is what she is? or—is what we imagine her to be?

## II.

Now the question of indulgences may be difficult for us to understand; but we may all know, once for all, that they do not mean—pardon for sins that have not yet been committed, and, therefore, leave to commit sin. Such a misconception, as we have seen, is as shocking to our Roman brethren as it is to ourselves.

1. Some years ago a lady murdered her little brother, but the charge was not brought home to her. Later on the burden on her conscience was too great for her to bear, so she asked a priest to hear her confession. In due course, if I rightly understand, recognising that her contrition was real he gave her absolution; but in the course of his spiritual direction he advised her to give herself up to the police. This she did, and was eventually punished by a long sentence of penal servitude. Thus it was assumed that certain punishment was due to her, even after she had received forgiveness. So far, if her term of penal servitude had been subsequently reduced, say by four years, this would have been to grant her an Indulgence of four years.



2. The case of David is sometimes quoted in illustration.

David confesses his sin, and in the act of doing so discovers evident contrition. Nathan replies, "The Lord hath put away thy sin."

Here was the forgiveness of God; and now after this forgiveness temporal punishment is administered. "Nevertheless, the child that is born unto thee shall die."

It is not until after the "nevertheless" that an Indulgence comes into operation.

This is evident in the wording by which the Pope grants an indulgence to those who shall read their Bible daily:—

"It can be gained on the day of the month when, after Confession and Communion, those who shall have fulfilled the conditions, etc."

3. One of the Jesuit Fathers gave me a fuller illustration, thus:—A father may turn to his hitherto rebellious son: "I see that now at length you have come to regret your past; you feel that you have done me a great wrong, and you are truly sorry for it. You know what I said—that unless you did repent in this way, I should banish you from my home for ever. However, now that you have repented I shall certainly receive you back again; but before I do that I think it will be good for your character that you should undergo some punishment. I have forgiven you, of course, all your debt—an immense debt it was too—but I think you shall pay me two hundred pounds; you will have to work hard for it and undergo some pain—but it will purify your character and prepare you for that kind of life you will have to live in my home. It is a great happiness to you as well as to me that your repentance has enabled me to give you full and free forgiveness for all your sins; now go, dear boy, and work out this piece of punishment—it will soon be over, and the consciousness that you are already forgiven will make it appear very light and easy to you." So far you have

the temporal punishment imposed after sin has been forgiven (*i.e.* after eternal punishment has been remitted).

The next moment a sister comes in whose character has been conspicuous for unselfishness which has endeared her greatly to her father: "May I work hard," she pleads, "and endeavour to obtain some of that sum of two hundred pounds? I mean, would you accept that in reduction of the sum; would it avail—that was the word I wanted. I am not forgetting, dear father, that I owe everything to you; it was you who gave me capital to start with, and a good constitution, I may say, too; and the power to do any work whatsoever; so that it is, in a sense, of your own that I am offering you; accept it then in that sense and for the benefit of a brother who is so dear at once to you and to me."

And the father is kind and indulgent. "Yes, dear child, I certainly will; you know your brother is forgiven, don't you; there is no longer any fear of his being permanently shut out, unless he should go wrong again; but I have given him this to do because I thought it would be for his good; I mean he will be all the better for it, and more fit for his home life when he joins us again. I know your goodness, dear child, and I will let him off any amount that you are able to earn on his behalf."

I set this down from memory, and have amplified it in several places; but it is, I think, substantially correct.

Thus the good works and intercessions of God's dear and good children, that is, of the Saints are ever accumulating, through the mediation of Christ, a treasury of merits; and when an indulgence is granted on certain conditions—and certain conditions are always attached to the granting of an indulgence—those who fulfil these conditions are said to have a share in these merits, and the amount of their temporal punishment in Purgatory is thereby reduced.

The mention of "Days" or "Years" in the wording of these grants is a survival of the long and heavy penances which were formally imposed in the Early Church, and the reduction by so long a time of such penances. Whether it is right to speak at all of days or years in relation to the Unseen World we cannot say; but "300 days," for instance, would be understood to represent a greater reduction of purgatorial and disciplinary punishment than would be represented by "200 days."

Plainly, a great barrier between ourselves and Rome is fallen if we can know in our hearts that an Indulgence is in no sense whatever a leave to commit sin. And every honest enquirer may convince himself, so far, of this truth. The further question as to whether the system of Indulgences works out happily and is according to the will of our Lord, is a distinct question; but, I repeat it, an Indulgence is not a leave to commit sin.

Indulgences only avail within that circle of punishment that is known as temporal and through which the already forgiven soul must necessarily pass, if it so be, on its way to its final destination in Heaven.

Absolution, as we understand it, saves the soul from entering that other circle of punishment from which there is no exit, because it is eternal.

In the circle of Purgatory it is the love of God chastening the soul. In the circle of Hell it is the wrath of God abiding upon the child of wilful disobedience.

## SECTION X.—MASS.

Before going on to speak of Mass itself it may be well to say some words on the subject of ceremonies in general.

The function of Ceremony, all the world over, is to protect and declare the dignity of truth. Thus if I am giving his first lessons to a little child upon this subject I inscribe these lines on his memory :

“Ceremonies are there  
To guard and declare  
The truths that we share.”

This, let it be observed, is not confined to the Church, but is merely elevated within the Church to a supernatural use.

The Lord Mayor is the conspicuous personage in the City of London, and his proper dignity is recognised by all Englishmen. That is the truth about him and they all share it. When, therefore, they see him appear on State occasions surrounded with ceremony, it reminds them of his proper dignity—ceremony declares the truth; and it guards and protects him from being confused with an ordinary citizen of subordinate rank. It is the same in the navy, the army and, as I have said, throughout the entire world.

It is important to bear this in mind: all the attitudes in the social life of a drawing-room are ceremonies, and so again are the salutations we witness in the streets.

Now since Mass, or Holy Eucharist, or Holy Communion, however we may think it right to describe this service, is understood to be the chief service of the Christian Church; since it enshrines the action which was expressly commanded by Christ, and since in this service it is Christ Himself whom we adore and, if it so be, also receive, the Church is led to introduce more ceremony into this situation than into any other.

Not that the service cannot be had without ceremony, for it can be so had; a deal table, a breakfast cup, and a plate, with the necessary elements will suffice where it is impossible to have anything better.

But it is not an ordinary meal; far from it; and we are anxious to protect it from being confused with one. Now let me bring an "Evangelical" Churchman—I use the term as generally understood—let me bring him before the altar and what will he say? He will say "I do not like the service to be held so often; it makes it too common. And for myself I prefer to communicate less often and to think more of what I am doing."

Now, how does the "Catholic" Churchman view this question? Does he advise less frequent communions for some people? Certainly he does, and for the same reason as his Evangelical brother; he thinks many people would do better to communicate less often and to prepare themselves more carefully.

But as regards the service being too common because it is held so frequently, he declares this is not a necessary consequence, and to avoid such a consequence he protects it with ceremony; due proportion is thus manifestly preserved before the eyes of the Congregation.

These men agree, then, in desiring to show reverence to this great service; where they differ is as to the proper means of securing that reverence. One prescribes infrequency; the other, ceremony.

Now if, as a matter of experience, to be out of sight is ever to be out of mind, the infrequent exhibition of this service will in fact cause it to disappear from men's minds and so far will defeat the very aim of that infrequency. But on the other hand if frequency in the celebration of it endangers its sacred character a reverent ceremony will protect it. So far—I do not say it goes very far—but so far the two may soon come to agree as to the means, by testing the effect of ceremony all the world over; meantime they are all agreed as to the end.

## II.

So far as this Service signifies Communion; that is, coming forward to receive the Body and Blood of our Lord, the two apparently opposite schools might soon attain to some considerable measure of agreement.

The question then occurs: can the Evangelical Churchman come to acknowledge that aspect of the Service which is towards God and not towards himself. Surely this aspect is congenial to his habit of mind;—pleading the merits—I am not saying this represents all—but, so far, pleading the merits of the Precious Blood. Has not all this the true note of Evangelical teaching in it?

Pleading the Sacrifice, then, let us say. But where is the Sacrifice? The Sacrifice, he rejoins, is none other than our Saviour Himself. To this the Catholic Churchman assents. Our Saviour is The Priest, and The Victim; both in Himself. Therefore it is at once He who offers and He himself who is offered. At this stage comes in the whole study of the mediatorial principle, and of the Sacraments as the extension of the Incarnation. It is Christ who does everything, but does he not use visible means for doing it? He, then, the invisible Priest, offers Himself by the hands of His visible ministerial Priest.

Now if Christ is there present in His sacred manhood after the manner of a spirit, what is our duty? Our duty is to adore Him. “O come let us adore Him.”

And as regards Communicants; manifestly the Church cannot forego her duty to Almighty God for any reason whatsoever.

The Sunday, then, is marked by that Service; and the faithful as having all of them their share in the lay or ministerial priesthood come to offer.

So far as it is a Sacrifice, and therefore towards God, they can, and according to the old laws of the Church, they ought to be present to offer along with the ministerial priest. Now if, like him, they receive the Sacred Body and Blood, they can in the most complete sense offer

our Saviour on the altar of the heart, to the Eternal Father, and plead His merits before the throne of grace.

This is the complete act ; and the ministerial priest necessarily has to carry it out. But in a sense which may not entirely come up to that level of completeness, all may plead the sacrifice along with the ministerial priest. So it is that the Church in the person of her representative, the ministerial priest, does her duty ; and all the faithful come forward and according to their measure, that is so far as sin does not come in to hinder, they assist. Those who cannot do all that they would, that is, communicate ; do all that they can, that is, unite in making a spiritual communion and in offering a spiritual Sacrifice.

I am, of course, only attempting to indicate lines of Reunion ; that is, suggesting the stages of progress by which, for instance, a godly Nonconformist may come on from one point to another, and from this to the next until he finds himself at one with his Catholic brethren.

### III.

As regards the use of the term Transubstantiation, and so far as it is objected to because it is philosophical, our Roman brethren remind us that we already unite with them in accepting such terms as were stereotyped for us in the Early Church—*e.g.*, Hypostatic. So that the way ought soon to be clear for us to unite with them in this also.

As a matter of history, the term Transubstantiation appears to have been used to prevent all attempts to explain away the reality of our Lord's presence ; and as a matter of experience no other term up to the present has succeeded in effecting that purpose.

The Greek Church holds it as strongly, almost more strongly, than the Roman ; while with ourselves the absence of a decisive term has converted the whole situation of the Morning Service into an open question ;

and therefore into a question not of Communion but of distraction; distraction being the first state in a course which leads onwards into indifference, or, where natures are thorough, into unbelief.

#### IV.

The question of Communion in one kind is scarcely one that should ultimately keep us apart.

In the first place it is always possible that Rome may relax the discipline; for it is a question of discipline; and in the second place Anglicans must face the question of their belief upon the subject, and ask themselves whether Christ can be divided; especially since He is to be considered as being present, whole and entire, under either species.

The language of the Council of Trent is that "it is most true that as much is contained under either species as under both; for Christ, whole and entire, exists under the species of bread, and under each (divided) particle of that species; and whole under the species of wine and under its (separated) parts."—Trent. Session xiii, c. iii.

Bossuet says that our Lord's "Body and Blood being no longer separated but in mystery, He must be received without division if received at all."

And in regard to the original step of refusing the chalice: "This was done to avoid the confusion and irreverences which negligence began to occasion. She will restore the liberty of both kinds to her children, when she shall judge that peace and unity require it."

I am aware that, according to some theologians, the Cup is said to have its own special grace; and that, therefore, according to Vasquez, "the laity are . . . deprived of some grace, yet not necessary to salvation, and that this the Council did not mean to deny." However, this distinction is of a kind that would for all practical purposes, I think, disappear. Assure a



man that there is sufficient grace for salvation without the administration of the Cup and he will soon come to rest in that belief.

## SECTION II.—INTENTION.

The doctrine of Intention is sometimes regarded as a difficulty. Two views are held and permitted within the Roman Communion.

1. I can best describe one of these by faithfully recording the *vivâ voce* account I had of it from a Dominican theologian.

“Let us suppose a person were brought to me to be baptised. I might say: I do not think this is of the slightest use; you must bear that in mind. Nevertheless, there is a Sacrament of the Church known as Baptism, and, of course, I am acquainted with the necessary form. Very well, that is Baptism; and although I do not myself believe in this, I am willing to baptise you.”

In this case the person would be considered as validly baptised; because the minister intended to do what the Church does, and for this purpose made use of the form the Church prescribes.

Thus, you will see, the Church protects the laity, by being jealous as to the form.

The above represents the inference that I drew; and I trust I have not misrepresented the position.

2. What I understand to be the more generally received view is as follows:—

The priest has received from our Lord the power of order over the Sacraments. In connection with this power a certain order of words and ceremonies is prescribed.

Now let us suppose that he finds himself standing opposite to some bread and wine. Are we to conclude that if he happened there and then to pronounce the

particular words of Consecration, the actual Consecration would result? No; but why not? Because although he is reciting the words he is not doing so with the intention of Consecrating. Now an evil-minded priest might withhold the proper intention whilst performing the external act, and he would thereby defraud the faithful.

But our Roman brethren say that although this is possible in the abstract it is practically non-existent. They remind us of "the lynx-eyed watchfulness with which the Church guards the sacraments," as is witnessed by her oftentimes insisting upon rebaptising those who go to her from us. They assert that practically "the risk from past withholding of intention must be deemed less than the risk from improper changes in matter and form or from lack of Ordination."

There is not space, of course, to go further into the question; my aim here is to map out the country of Reunion, so that we may see where we are.

And I should myself say that the Roman position in this case suggests another instance of balance and proportion; her severity in the matter of intention being duly balanced by severity in guarding and protecting other aspects of the Sacramental system. And if this be so, since we acknowledge her orders, it is important that we should fall into line as far as we possibly can with the principles that in her judgment should be attached to them.

## SECTION XII.—IMAGES.

The Greek Church appears to draw a distinction between the (1) Idol, the (2) Icon, and the (3) Statue. The Orthodox consider the use of statuary in the Western Church to be irregular and un-canonical. According

to their teaching homage is due to Icons representing our Lord; the Blessed Virgin Mary; the Angels; and the Saints.

The true reason for their objection to the statue is that it is too much like a heathen object of worship.

This latter objection is based upon what I should describe as the superstition of supposing that all that appertains to heathen religions is false; whereas the constructive principles of comparative religion would recognise many of them as true.

If we define an image as the likeness of anything or person, all pictures on our walls or in our albums, whether of persons, places, or other objects, would fall under this description, as well as statues; and that is how I should view the subject. It has often been pointed out that we give our sanction to the principle of images by setting up statues of illustrious personages in our parks or within the Abbey of Westminster; it being understood that according to the well-known explanation of Dr. Arnold, the fact of the Incarnation has come in to modify the teaching of the Second Commandment, the Invisible God having in fact been pictured for us in the Person of our Saviour, who is expressly described as His image.

The Second Commandment would thus be understood in its primary sense to refer backwards, that is, towards the specific idolatry of Egypt; while its forward and permanent aspect is directed against the sin of putting any person or thing in the place of God. We kiss the photograph of a dear friend, whether living or dead; or we look into the face of a picture and through it into the face of a child who is no more with us—"Dearest child" we exclaim; but there is no suspicion of idolatry in our attitude. The distinction in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries used to be expressed thus: "Thou shalt kneel, if thou wilt, before the image, but not to the image. Thou shalt do thy worship before the image, before the thing, not to the thing . . ." A distinction

which may appear subtle on paper, but which is easily understood and for the most part faithfully observed in practical life.

With these distinct thoughts in my mind I should teach children that it is not wrong to have an image, but that it is wrong to worship it; that it is not wrong to say our prayers before a Cross or Crucifix but that it is wrong to say our prayers to it. No one will deny that on the one side devotion has suffered in the absence of a visible object to suggest the unseen, while on the other hand the presence of such objects or images has been made the occasion of abuse.

Our Roman brethren would unite with us in regretting the abuse, and there can scarcely be said to be any serious difference between us as to the use.

### SECTION XIII.—JESUITS.

One principal difficulty in regard to our Roman brethren in England is that we are called upon to view them against the lurid background of prejudice.

Leo XIII, for instance, presents to the world a grand personality and a character of majestic proportions; but we place him in front of our background, the background of "Popery," and we cannot see him rightly because of it. His various Encyclicals, and more particularly his beautiful treatise on "Humility"—they all go for nothing; nothing can resist this spirit or temper of prejudice.

It is well then, to meet him and those who are with him at least on the basis of our baptism; to remember that he, like ourselves, has been duly baptised, that he loves his Saviour, Who is also ours, and is, like each one of us, a member of His mystical body. But when we turn from him to the Jesuits, or the Society of Jesus, there we recognise what may almost be termed the concrete

symbol, the outward visible sign, of our most obstinate prejudices.

Prejudice, in regard to our Roman brethren, has passed through several phases. The term "Catholic" was at one time recognised as the symbol of everything that was unsafe, untrue, and altogether antiquated. Then we came to realise that it was in our Prayer Book and that it also attached to ourselves. Next, our prejudices were directed against the Religious Orders; and Dr. Pusey had a hard fight before he could win a place for these also in the Anglican system. After this it became necessary to introduce a distinction, and we came to recognise the virtues of some among the Orders and Societies of the Church, whether Anglican or Roman; until finally an exception was made on behalf of the Jesuits; and our spirit of prejudice absorbed them quite.

## I.

It is certain, I think, that few hindrances to Reunion can rank with the hindrance that is known as "The Jesuits."

Nor is the prejudice confined to ourselves; it is shared by many of our Roman brethren also; and in this as in so many other cases a man's foes are those of his own household.

As it is still the fashion to suspect them of being at the back of all things, it is right for me to explain that they knew nothing of my intention to say these words about them until I asked them kindly to supply me with some particulars about the society.

I shall content myself here with following the lines of justice as it is laid down for us here in England; with assuming that they are innocent until there is something more substantial than vague innuendo and cruel slander to prove them guilty; and with a firm determination to go directly to them and not to others for information about themselves.

"I cannot conceive, sir," says Charles Reding, "why I should be unfit company for the gentlemen of the College." "Dr. Bluett's jaw dropped, and his eyes assumed a hollow aspect, 'You will corrupt their minds.' Then he added in a sepulchral tone, which came from the depths of his inside: 'You will introduce them, sir, to some subtle Jesuit—to some subtle Jesuit, Mr. Reding.'"

My experience has not yet brought me within that special department of the Society indicated here by Dr. Bluett, but I desire to say some words of introduction for the benefit of those who know this Society only through the distorted and not seldom grotesque medium of rumour, of prejudice, and sometimes also of fraud.

I shall begin by saying some words about the Founder of the Society and the Constitutions he drew up for its benefit; and I shall then make some attempt to remove the rubbish heaps of misunderstanding which hide the actual Jesuits from our view; rubbish heaps which appear so imposing and immovable until we get the spade of candour well underneath them and clear them away.

## II:

1. St. Ignatius. Don Ignacio de Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, whose members are generally known as Jesuits, was born in the year 1491, eight years after the birth of Luther; his home being situated among the hills of Guipuzcoa, near the little town of Aspeitia, in Spanish Biscay. His father was the head of an ancient and illustrious race; and his mother, a native of the neighbouring town of Ascoytia was also of noble birth. Thirteen children were born to them—five daughters and eight sons—Ignatius being the youngest.

Ignatius was baptised at Aspeitia in the Parish Church; and the font used for the purpose is still "preserved with much veneration," being surmounted by a statue of the

Saint, who is represented as pointing to the font beneath ; and the following inscription in Basque gives its own special interest to the spot : " Here I was baptised." In his earlier years, according to the custom of those times, Ignatius was sent by his father and mother as page to the Court of the Catholic Sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella. Later on he entered the army, a profession in which his brothers had already distinguished themselves.

His biographers speak of him as being handsome and well made, graceful in form, with dark eyes, and a certain haughtiness of bearing ; his love of glory and a sensitiveness on " the point of honour " being his chief passions. Like St. Augustine, so far, his earlier life was full of pride and worldliness ; having no prospect apparently beyond this present world.

In the defence of the town of Pampeluna, in 1521, his left leg was struck by a heavy stone, dislodged from the walls ; and immediately afterwards his right leg was seriously injured by a cannon ball.

He was taken prisoner, but almost immediately sent to his home, where he lay in a state of enforced idleness. Then it was that he read the Life of Jesus Christ, by Ludolph the Carthusian, and the Lives of the Saints ; and he felt himself powerfully moved to follow their example.

After the struggle between good and evil impulses which form part of the experience of all God's Saints, he rose one night from his bed, and kneeling down before a statue of our Lady with the infant in her arms, there and then offered himself body and soul to her, promising that he would henceforth follow the standard of Jesus Christ, his only true Sovereign.

Subsequently he made a general confession of his whole life to a Benedictine monk, named Don Juan Chanones.

Having exchanged his own rich clothing for the rags of a beggar, he knelt before the Altar of the Blessed Virgin during the long hours of the night—the Eve of

the Annunciation—in the Church of Montserrat. After receiving the Holy Communion on the following morning he removed to the neighbouring town of Manresa.

In memory of these hours spent by St. Ignatius before the altar, an Abbot of the adjoining Monastery, caused a marble tablet to be placed in the Church, with this inscription: '*Ignatius à Loyola, multa prece fletuque deo se Virginique devovit. Hic, tanquam armis spiritualibus, sacco se muniens pernoctavit. Hinc ad Societatem Jesu fundandam prodiit, Anno 1522. F. Laurentius dicto, abbas dicavit, anno 1603 (Bartali).*'

St. Ignatius wrote the *Spiritual Exercises* while at Manresa; and St. Francis of Sales used to say that this treatise had converted as many sinners as it contained letters.

Eventually, after a journey to the Holy Land, he practically commenced his study of Latin at the age of thirty-three years; and next proceeded to the famous University of Alcalá to study philosophy; moving on soon afterwards to the University of Salamanca.

On February 2nd, 1528 St Ignatius, foot-sore, weary and poorly clad entered the Great City of Paris, destined to become the birthplace of the Society of Jesus. The name of the six famous companions who united with the Saint himself to form the foundation stones of the Society are: Peter Favre, Francis Xavier, James Laynez, Alphonsus Salmeron, Simon Rodriguez, and Nicolas Bobadilla.

To these Ignatius explained that the end of the Order was to be—The greater glory of God and the Salvation of Souls; and the means—self-denial and works of charity and zeal.

After joyfully responding to his appeal they assembled on the Feast of the Assumption, 1534, in a little chapel on the hill of Montmartre, in Paris; and Peter Favre, the only priest among them, said Mass, and all, after receiving Holy Communion, made their vows of poverty and chastity.



Thus under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary the Society of Jesus was born on the 15th of August.

I will now say some words about the Constitutions of the Society and the course of training through which its members are required to pass.

2. The Constitutions. St. Ignatius himself is the sole author of the Constitutions; and although on the one hand these have been made the subject of attacks and accusations, "dictated by malice or ignorance," they have, on the other hand, excited the admiration of "thousands of learned and holy men." The Council of Trent declared the Society to be a "pious institute." So considerable a statesman as Richelieu regarded the Constitutions as a work of genius; but, more than this, they were the outcome of extraordinary deliberation and fervent prayer. As an instance of this, on one point, which was not even a very important one, there were found among the papers of St. Ignatius eight reasons written down for one view and fifteen for another. "Then placing himself above all feelings of self-love or prejudice, he strove to weigh calmly and dispassionately the different motives he had found; after this, having done all that was required of prudence he consulted God with childlike simplicity, as though he had nothing to do but to write down what God should dictate." He devoted forty days to prayer, on one occasion, for enlightenment upon one special point.

#### SOME CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP.

- (1) Any one who aspires to this Society must not have belonged, even for a day, to any other religious Society.
- (2) A very strict rule is that, in the language of St. Ignatius himself, "none amongst us over-persuade any one to enter the Society."

This, in itself, to any honest man, disposes of the false charge sometimes made against them that they attempt to entrap young men to join

the Institute. In several parts of the Constitution reference is made to this strictness in the matter of admission.

- (3) Disedifying, discontented, insubordinate or idle members shall be expelled, though not without mature consideration.

## THE OBJECT OF THE SOCIETY.

### THE GREATER GLORY OF GOD

*(Ad majorem Dei gloriam)*

and

### THE SANCTIFICATION OF SOULS.

## THE CHIEF CHARACTERISTIC—OBEDIENCE.

### SOME QUESTIONS ADDRESSED TO POSTULANTS.

- (1) Are you ready to renounce the world, all possession and all hope of temporal goods?
- (2) Are you ready, if necessary, to beg your bread from door to door for the love of Jesus Christ?
- (3) Are you ready to reside in any country and to embrace any employment where your superiors may think you will be most useful to the glory of God and the good of souls?
- (4) Are you ready to obey in all things, in which there is evidently no sin, the Superiors, who hold towards you the place of God?
- (5) Do you feel resolved generously to renounce without reserve all those things which men in general love and embrace, and will you accept and desire with all your strength what our Lord Jesus Christ loved and embraced?
- (6) Do you consent to put on the livery of humiliation worn by Him, to suffer as He did, and for the love of Him, unmerited contempt, calumnies and insults?

If these questions are answered in the affirmative, there next follows :

### THE NOVICESHIP OF TWO YEARS.

Two years are devoted to deep seclusion and constant prayer. A short lesson learnt by heart daily to exercise the memory, being the only exception to this course.

### INTELLECTUAL STUDY.

If the Postulant has not completed this study before joining, he now devotes himself to such subjects as Rhetoric, Literature, Philosophy, Natural Sciences, Mathematics, and History.

The Ratio Studiorum forms an important part of the Institute. The course of Philosophy takes three years at a College specially set apart for that purpose.

Thus, if he entered at about eighteen, he would now be twenty-five years of age.

### TEACHING BOYS.

He is now set to teach one of the classes of boys at one of the Colleges for that purpose, *e.g.*, Stonyhurst.

This stage lasts on an average five years, but sometimes takes as much as seven. Much depends on his aptitude for teaching boys, and on the question whether his place can be supplied and so he may be free to go on.

### THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE.

Next come the theological studies at a Theological College. If he has the full course, the long course as it is called, it will last four years, but he will be ordained to the priesthood at the end of the third.

### THIRD YEAR OF NOVICESHIP.

This last stage is sometimes known as the Tertianship. It consists of one more year devoted solely to prayer and self-examination.

Father Ravignan describes this third year of Noviceship as the "Masterpiece of St Ignatius." His own description of it is very beautiful.

The Novice is to exercise himself in *schola affectus* (in the school of the heart); that is to renounce all merely natural inclinations and to advance in the love of God.

"At the end of the year his progress is reported to the Father General, with whose approbation he pronounces his solemn vows, either as a professed father or as a spiritual coadjutor. . . .

"The professed have passed through four full years of theological study and satisfied the examiners as to their knowledge; they constitute the Society of Jesus in its most technical sense. The spiritual coadjutors have not passed through the same amount of study." But the two classes are on a footing of perfect equality in the Society.

Thus "trials and probations" are multiplied to an extraordinary extent, as a test of vocation; and a Jesuit is not ordained to the priesthood as a rule until he is about thirty three years of age.

## THE GOVERNMENT.

### THE HEAD OF THE ENTIRE SOCIETY

is called

### THE FATHER GENERAL.

(Appointed by election.)

### SEVERAL ASSISTANTS

of

### DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES

### APPOINTED BY ELECTION

to be

### AN ADVISORY COUNCIL.

AN ADMONITOR  
WHOSE DUTY IT IS TO BE EVER AT HAND  
TO ADVISE AS TO THE PRIVATE CONDUCT  
of the  
GENERAL.

THE EXAMINERS  
appointed by  
THE FATHER GENERAL  
as  
CENSORS OF BOOKS.

“This Society is divided into Provinces comprising a certain number of houses, and governed by a Provincial, who is assisted by consultors and by an admonitor, named by the General, and each house is governed by a Superior, who also has his consultors and an admonitor.”

Every three years a catalogue is sent up from each Province, containing the names, ages, capabilities, talents, and progress in virtue of each member within the Province.

Thus a certain number of houses, each having its Superior, go to make up one or other of the two Provinces into which the Society is divided.

### VOWS.

There are no secret vows whatsoever; any one may see the vows for himself in the book of the Institute,\* a copy of which will be found on the shelves of some of our libraries; the library of the British Museum containing several copies. “Solemn vows” must be taken publicly or they are not valid.

“The Professed of Four Vows in whose hands is the

\* Father Gerard, a member of the Society, writes (*The Monthly Review*, August, 1901) “Should any one wish to see the full text of all vows ever taken by Jesuits, they are to be found in the *Institutum Soc. Jesu* (British Museum, press mark 1230h.—Vol. i, pp. 403-4).”

supreme executive and legislative power, are bound by the special obligation peculiar to themselves (the Fourth Vow) to start at a word from the Pope to preach the Faith to any nation however distant or barbarous."

### I.—VOWS TAKEN BY "SCHOLASTICS" ON THE CONCLUSION OF THEIR NOVITIATE.

Almighty and Eternal God, I, N.N., though altogether unworthy of Thy Divine Presence, yet relying upon Thine infinite mercy, and impelled by the desire of serving Thee, in presence of the most holy Virgin Mary and of all the Court of Heaven do vow to Thy Divine Majesty perpetual Poverty, Chastity and Obedience in the Society of Jesus; and I promise that I will enter the said Society to spend my entire life therein—all things being understood according to the Constitutions of the same Society. Wherefore I suppliantly beg of Thine illimitable goodness and clemency, by the Blood of Jesus Christ, that Thou wouldst deign to accept this Holocaust in the odour of sweetness, and as Thou hast given me grace to desire and make this offering, wouldst also give it abundantly so to perform.

### II.—SOLEMN VOWS OF "SPIRITUAL COADJUTORS."

I, NN., promise to Almighty God, in presence of His Virgin Mother and the whole Court of Heaven, and to you, Rev. Father A. B., Superior-General of the Society of Jesus holding the place of God, and to your successors (*or*, to you, Rev. Fr. C. D., representing the Rev. Fr. A. B., . . . and his successors), perpetual Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience in the Society of Jesus, and, moreover, special care of the instruction of youth, according to the tenour of the Apostolic Letters and the Constitutions of the said Society.

*(Place and Date.)*

### III.—SOLEMN VOWS OF “TEMPORAL COADJUTORS” (LAY-BROTHERS).

I, NN., promise to Almighty God, in presence of His Virgin Mother and the whole Court of Heaven, and to you, Rev. Father . . . perpetual Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience in the Society of Jesus, according to the tenour of the Apostolic Letters and the Constitutions of the said Society.

*(Place and Date.)*

### IV.—SOLEMN VOWS OF THE PROFESSED.

I, NN., make my Profession, and promise to Almighty God in presence of His Virgin Mother and the whole Court of Heaven, and all here present, and to you, Rev. Father . . . perpetual Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience in the Society of Jesus, and, moreover, special care of the instruction of youth, according to the mode of life contained in the Apostolic Letters of the Society of Jesus and its Constitutions. I also promise special obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff regarding Missions, as is set forth in the same Apostolic Letters and Constitutions.

*(Place and Date.)*

### V.—SIMPLE VOWS TAKEN BY THE SAME AFTER PROFESSION.

I, N.N., Professed of the Society of Jesus, promise to Almighty God, in presence of His Virgin Mother, and the whole Court of Heaven, and before the Rev. Father A. B. . . . that I will never in any manner contrive or consent that the ordinance of the Constitutions of the Society concerning Poverty should be altered; unless at any time there should appear to be just cause for further restriction.

I likewise promise that I will never so act or devise, even indirectly, as to be chosen for or promoted to any

prelacy or dignity outside the Society, nor consent to my election to such, so far as I am able, unless I be compelled by obedience to one who has power to command me under pain of sin.

Also, should I know that anyone is seeking or ambitioning dignities of either kind, I will forthwith inform the Society or its General.

Moreover, I promise that should I ever be thus forced to undertake the charge of any Church, I will in respect of the care to which I am bound both of my own Soul and the right discharge of the duty laid upon me, show such deference towards the General of the Society, as never to refuse to hear what advice he may deign to give me, either directly or through another. And I promise that I will act upon such advice should it appear to be better than what has occurred to myself; all things being understood according to the Constitutions and Declarations of the Society of Jesus.

*(Place and Date).*

### III.

1. Prejudices. Now in regard to what I have set down above. since we live in a scientific age, let us view it from a scientific standpoint.

Huxley delighted to live and move in the dry light of science; and his "one act of faith . . . was the confession of the universality of order and the absolute validity, in all times under all circumstances, of the law of causation." I am not here entering into any discussion of this principle; but I adopt it for the purpose in hand; and as Huxley went on to explain why he called it an act of faith, viz., because the truth of it is not susceptible of proof; so in the case before us you cannot compel belief in any person. There is always a way of escape for those who prefer not to face the facts.

But if there is any scientific connection between cause



and effect, let any one contemplate this Society as a phenomenon ; viewing it first in the person of its founder, and then in its Rules and Constitutions ; and let him understand this to constitute a cause. What, then, will be the nature of the effect that we should be led to expect from such a cause ? Is it possible to bring an unclean thing out of a thing that is clean ?

Where are the elements of that dishonesty, of that underhand dealing, of that duplicity, of that habit of doing evil that good may come, and of that temper of political intrigue which is so lightly attributed to the Jesuits ?

In spite of human frailty, is there no connection between the rules and constitution of a society and the lives and character of its members ?

But vows belong to a higher level and a different order to rules.

Where then, in the wording of these vows shall we find any foretaste of that cunning and deception, that display of elaborate and deep dark deception which is understood to declare itself in the life of this Society ?

Or, to approach the subject from another point of view ; Putting any question of religion and faith on one side, and keeping close to fact, where is the evidence for these charges ? Have you had some typical Jesuit before you in your laboratory ? Have you made out your diagnosis ? Will you set down on paper the grounds of your suspicions ? Name some Jesuit in particular in regard to whom you know—not surmise ; and I will go at once to see him if he is within reach.

Or again, leave science alone and verification as such, and remember you are an Englishman. Is it English to assume that a man is guilty until he can prove himself to be innocent ? Or is it fair that a man shall be confined within the prison of your prejudice, without being brought to trial ?

Go, then, and pay a visit to some Jesuit Father living in your neighbourhood and have the matter out with

him. But it is not in England, perhaps, that the mischief lies. Is it not notorious that in connection with some cause célèbre and the more general persecution that is known as Anti-Semitic—is it not a notorious fact that it is the Jesuits who are at the back of it all?

To this I reply, what evidence can you produce? Evidence, is the rejoinder; there is no need of evidence where everybody knows. Now, I cannot, of course, go at length into this question; but I may be able to indicate suggestive lines.

1. M. Drumont is understood to be the recognised leader of Anti-Semitism. If the Jesuits, then, are at the back of this movement, M. Drumont is likely to know something of it. Go, then, to him as to the very fountain head of the agitation; and what will he say? He will say as he did in his interview with M. Gribayedoff:

“Take this down word for word. These statements are pure inventions. Anti-Semitism is an economic not a religious war. In our ranks you will find men of every religious belief, also Atheists and Agnostics.

“As to the Church dignitaries or the Jesuits being interested in our movement, I know absolutely nothing about that. I have no personal acquaintance, no relations with any Cardinal, Bishop, or Jesuit. I never see any, and in fact the higher clergy are rather inimical towards the movement. They are the servants of the Jews as much as our magistrates and politicians. If we have any friends among the hierarchy it is in the lower ranks.

“The poor village curé who receives a miserable pittance from the Government, and is treated like a lackey in return—being in touch with the masses and understanding their needs and their troubles—naturally wishes us success. No, we are not clericals.”

And it is in the face of facts such as these that the *Libre Parole* of which M. Drumont is the editor, is alleged to be the organ of the Jesuits; an assertion which Count

de Mun says, "only makes people (in France) laugh, and probably no one more so than M. Drumont himself."

And in reference to the insinuation that the movement has for its principal authors the representatives of the Catholic Church, the Count de Mun remarks: "This is a complete error, they stand altogether outside it."

It is more particularly alleged in regard to the cause célèbre to which allusion has been made, that the military authorities under whom the trial was first instituted were all former pupils of the Jesuits. In his letter to the *Times* the Count de Mun declares that "not a single one of the former pupils of the Jesuits figured on the Etat Major Particulier of General de Boisdeffre, and that out of the 180 officers who composed the Etat Major General there were last year hardly as many as nine or ten belonging to that category; moreover that these officers are chosen exclusively from among the first twelve in the Ecole Supérieure de Guerre, admission to which School is by competitive examination . . . . . of the officers concerned in this case not one has been brought up by the Jesuits, neither General Mercier any more than General Gonse or General Pellieux, nor Colonel Henry any more than Lieutenant-Colonel du Paty de Clam, nor Lieutenant-Colonel Picquart any more than Commandant Esterhazy. . . . ." And M. Drumont, again, in a letter to M. Cohen: "You will be told that our campaign against the Jewish speculators is a religious campaign. This is absolutely false . . . . If the good genius of our Country is with us, and wishes that we should become the masters, we will shut up only one synagogue, and that only as a measure of public security—the Synagogue of the Bourse. It is then a pure sophism to mix up the religious question with the economic question."

And yet people, who in the very act of giving utterance to an indignation which is evidently genuine as well as profound, at the injustice of some sentence

against another do not hesitate, some of them, to fasten the guilt of it—for the charge amounts to this—upon a religious society; and that upon evidence of so unsubstantial a character that if a jury in England dared to act upon it they would be whipped out of the country.

2. But it may be said, there is no smoke without fire. I shall therefore adduce two concrete instances of another kind; one relating to the Jesuits, and one to ourselves in order to show what prejudice and false rumour can do if they once get the start of truth.

(a) The *Apologia* of Newman is generally considered as being sufficiently explicit; its aim being to expel the superstitions and misunderstandings that had gathered round the Cardinal's character.

However, in spite of this, some nineteen years after (October 11th, 1883) Newman was constrained to include the following note in a late edition of the *Via Media*:—“Sir William Palmer, in his republication of his *Narrative*, etc., in spite of using words of me, of which I feel the kindness, ventures to say that ‘Newman and Froude had consulted (Dr. Wiseman) at Rome upon the feasibility of being received as English Churchmen into the Papal Communion, retaining their doctrines.’ If this means that Hurrell Froude and I thought of being received into the Catholic Church while we still remained outwardly professing the doctrine and the Communion of the Church of England, I utterly deny and protest against so calumnious a statement. Such an idea never entered into our heads. I can speak for myself, and as far as one man can speak for another, I can answer for my dear friend also.”

In December, 1900, seventeen years afterwards, the following words appear in print, made in good faith, but painfully illustrating the necessity for persistent explanation:—“The late Cardinal Newman, it is believed, became an ordained priest of the Roman Church, some ten or twelve years before he publicly espoused the Roman religion. In the meantime he and his colleagues

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started the Tractarian movement which developed Puseyism. . . .” “You see,” the simple reader exclaims, “it is as I say—Reunion with Rome is impossible.”

Well, it may be so, if anything can be pronounced impossible after such a statement as this.

But I will quote a recent case belonging to the present year (1901); a case that may be taken as a type of many others. Meantime, how many of those thousands of readers who perused their papers and read the news of this Jesuitical iniquity have ever come to know first that there was no iniquity, and next that there was no Jesuit in the case.

I will leave it to the Jesuit Fathers themselves to give us the actual state of the case:—

#### “A RECENT CONVENT CASE.

Upon my tongues continual slanders ride,  
Which I in every language do pronounce,  
Stuffing the ears of men with false reports.

“From this speech, which he puts into the mouth of “Rumour,” it appears by no means certain that in such an engine for the dissemination of reports from every quarter of the earth, like the modern press, Shakespeare would have recognised the purely beneficent agent which it is so generally assumed to be. Certainly, amongst the difficulties against which we Catholics have continually to struggle, not the least is the continual importation from abroad through our newspapers of fresh material to swell the anti-Catholic tradition; which sort of thing appears to be no less diligently purveyed for the English market than other products of every clime. It thus comes about that wherever on the face of the earth anything occurs which can be cited or made to appear as an instance of the bigotry or tyranny or covetousness of the Church and her representatives, the ears of our countrymen are presently stuffed with ac-”

"counts of it, in which positiveness of statement usually does duty for accuracy in regard to facts. What makes matters worse is that, as the Roman poet has it, who seems to agree with our own in having but a poor opinion of Rumour, it speedily assumes such dimensions that its head is hidden in the clouds, so that it becomes impossible to check or confute it by examination of details which nobody remembers, no more remaining in the public mind than a very vague but quite positive conviction that the Catholic Church has once more been convicted of something very awful."

"A few weeks ago, for example, our newspapers were all agog about a supposed outrage in Spain, where it was alleged that a young lady of means had been kidnapped by the Jesuits and immured in a convent, of course for the sake of her money, and that the proceeding was so outrageous as to have aroused the indignation of the entire population, making them clamour for the expulsion of the prime authors of the mischief. To obtain trustworthy information as to the details of a somewhat complicated story has required time, and now that we are in a position to put the facts before our readers, it is to be feared that the horrible tale has become too nebulous to be effectively exposed. We must trust that the slight sketch given above will make the significance of the following particulars sufficiently intelligible."

"The young lady in question, by name Ubao, had lost her father, from whom she was to inherit her share of the family estate, the amount being still undetermined. She had no other expectations. Two years previously she had gone to confession to a Jesuit father, to whom she never mentioned her idea of becoming a nun, which she did not at that period entertain. Since that time she had no communication with him or any other Jesuit, her confessor being a certain Don Francisco, Rector of "Carboneras," who was the confessor of other members of the family. When with his approval she determined "

"to enter the Convent of the Servants of the Sacred Heart, she had completed her twenty-third year, and was thus of age according to the Spanish law. Her mother absolutely refusing her consent to the proposed step, the daughter, after giving notice that she would act for herself, proceeded to do so. When she presented herself at the convent, the Superior at once sent to inform the mother, and various members of the family speedily attended, vehemently urging her to abandon her intention. She, on the other hand, insisting on her legal right to choose her own course, demanded that a magistrate should be brought before whom she might make a statutory declaration, to which, however, her relatives would not agree; but at a later period the Superior insisted on its being done. She also recommended the postulant under the circumstances to yield, until she could obtain the consent of her family; but the suggestion being peremptorily refused, she did not feel justified in further interference. So, too, the Bishop, to whom the relatives appealed, having looked into the matter, declared that he had no right to interfere with one who had a perfect right to choose her state of life. Meanwhile, the convent authorities would not allow the young lady to contribute to their funds anything beyond the dower required in the case of all who enter, it being apparent that the money question was at the bottom of the whole difficulty. It was therefore insisted that if Mdlle. Ubao should insist on devoting her fortune to pious purposes, these should be altogether independent of the body which she had joined."

"The relatives next applied to the law courts for an injunction compelling her to return to her home. The case was entrusted on behalf of herself and Convent to the eminent jurist, Señor Maura, who had held office in the Liberal Administration of Señor Sagasta, and who pronounced without hesitation that the young lady was legally entitled to act as she proposed. This opinion having been confirmed by the decision of the Court of"

"First Instance, and on appeal by that of Second Instance likewise, the case was finally taken to the supreme tribunal. It was whilst this last appeal was still pending, and before any decision had been arrived at, that the popular disturbances arose. Crowds assembled before the court-house demanding a decision favourable to the appellants; otherwise they threatened to take violent measures against the Jesuits, who now for the first time appeared upon the scene. Growing impatient with delay, they proceeded to stone the carriage of the Nuncio, and hostile demonstrations were made against General Azcarraga and various members of his Ministry. The arrival at this juncture of the Count of Caserta to be present at the marriage of his son with the Princess of Asturias was made the occasion of turning these disturbances to purposes more strictly political, as a demonstration against the reigning family."

"After some delay the supreme court announced its decision. In the clearest and most definite terms it found that the novice had entered of her own free-will. In spite of this, however, it decided, on purely legal grounds, that she must be compelled to return home. According to the 321st Article of the Civil Code, a woman, though of age, cannot till the completion of her twenty-fifth year leave home without parental consent, except to embrace a permanent state of life (*tomar estado*) This had hitherto been held to mean to marry, or to embrace a religious life, and the inferior courts had so understood the phrase. The supreme court now decides that *tomar estado* means to marry, and nothing else. Mdlle. Ubao has consequently been compelled to leave the convent, to which she declares her resolve of returning when she shall be at liberty to do so."

"The ruling of the supreme court upon the point in question has provoked much comment. It is pointed out that it is quite novel, and contradicts the authority of jurists of the highest character. But the severest thing was said of it by an ultra-Liberal journal, which "



"jubilantly observed that the uproar outside had been instructive to the judges."

8. When Hope-Scott visited Rome some years before his conversion he paid a visit to the Father General of the Society and assured him that he was ready to shake off his prejudice against them, "prejudice," he said, "in which I was born." "Not born," the Father replied, "but instructed." And this will go some way, surely, to explain the attitude of many of us towards an illustrious society of men, who are, to say the least, as honourable as the rest of the world, and about whom as a rule we know nothing but what has been instilled into our minds by prejudice in the first instance and fed and sustained by false rumour afterwards.

While we are accusing them of not looking us in the face as they pass us by, and as being therefore wanting in straightforwardness, they are practising the discipline known as the modesty of the eyes and giving themselves perhaps to meditation.

The Father General related to Hope-Scott how one day the Founder, Ignatius Loyola appeared before his brethren with an expression of unusual happiness upon his face, assigning as the reason that our Saviour had heard his prayer for persecution.

And after relating this he went on to say that "the efforts to malign them were incessant; and he mentioned that during their late efforts (1841) while the cholera was in Rome, ('efforts which were incessant,' writes Hope-Scott, 'and most devoted' as I heard in other quarters) people said: 'See what they do to gain influence.'"

Now Hope-Scott, besides being one of the most distinguished barristers of his day, the friend of Gladstone and Newman, was also distinguished by a peculiar uprightness and beauty of character. After his conversion to Rome—some ten years after the above conversation—his admiration for the Jesuits was one of the conspicuous things about him and continued with him

up to his death in 1874. He loved to be ministered to by them and was so ministered to up to the last; his Requiem Mass being said at the Church of the Jesuit Fathers in Farm Steet, with Cardinal Newman as the preacher.

And so again with Ambrose de Lisle the beauty and gentleness of whose character will be recognised in a later chapter: "I have always felt," he writes, "a strong affection for the Jesuits, having in my intercourse with them found them, to be pious, interior men, enlightened confessors and prudent advisers."

Speaking of the members of this Society, who were driven from Rome in the days of the Revolution under Pius IX, Mr. Capes, himself a writer of great candour, alluded to Perrone, the distinguished Jesuit Theologian as "a man of much learning, ability, and candour," and of Mazio, another member, who had been a professor of Canon Law in Rome, he writes: "I have never met with a man of a fairer and more dispassionate judgment both as to persons and opinions."

4. "I myself," writes Father Gerard, "have been a Jesuit for forty-five years; for a quarter of a century I have been admitted amongst the 'Professed,' who form the very core of the Society; I have been placed in an office in which any secrets of policy must necessarily be known to me; I have been in constant and confidential communication with the General of the Order himself, both written and verbal, and can say with confidence that I fully know his mind on all points. As the result of my experience, I know that were we to do any of the things alleged against us we should flagrantly disobey both the rules which we have pledged ourselves to observe and the peremptory commands of the superiors whom we have vowed to obey. I know that neither I myself, nor any Jesuit I ever knew, would continue in the Order for half an hour did we find it to be in any respect what it is represented as being; and I am quite sure that all would be utterly at a loss to comprehend

“how men could be induced to renounce all that is most attractive on earth by the prospect of thereby becoming children of perdition tenfold beyond the rest of men.”

I should myself accept this as the statement of an honourable man, and at the same time of one who has had ample opportunity of testing the value of his own words.

5. In an article which appeared in *The Month* for February, 1899, Father Sydney Smith, himself a member of the Society, in alluding to another of those serious charges which are so often levelled against the Society, writes thus:—

“It does not follow that we should say anything in self-defence. For three hundred years and more the Jesuits have had experience of similar charges malevolently laid at their door and actively prosecuted, by parties and syndicates able and resolved to deny them hearing in their own defence which is admitted to be the inalienable right of other men. The result is that they have become weary of the effort of resistance, and prone—too prone, perhaps—to consider that their best course is to meet their accusers with silence, trusting for their justification to God who can see into their hearts, and, so far as the world goes, to many well-disposed persons, whether Catholics or otherwise, who judge them not from the representations of enemies, but from personal intercourse with themselves.”

“We are the simplest people in the world, if the world would only believe it,” were the words said to the present writer when trying to decide his vocation, by a well-known English Jesuit, now dead. The words express the exact truth, as that portion of the world which does know us personally will bear witness. Our work is purely spiritual. We preach and administer Sacraments; we teach in our schools and colleges, to those young people whom their parents confide to us, the elements of Catholic faith and practice, and of human learning; we study and write according to our abilities and oppor-

"tunities, in defence and in exposition of the Catholic faith in all its branches, and under all its aspects; and we try to keep well before our minds that the minister of Christ is adapted to be Christ's instrument for the good of others in proportion as he strives to be faithful and generous in the affairs of his own spiritual life. In these various labours we do not mix ourselves up with politics, but endeavour to do our work in peace and quiet, asking nothing of the State save to be left in enjoyment of the liberty granted to our neighbours. It is in the consciousness that their work is of this kind, and is known to be such by the many who are acquainted with them, that our French Fathers have not cared to rebut the numerous and violent charges made against the Society in connection with the Dreyfus case. In France neither those who know them, nor those who accuse them, believe in charges so palpably absurd; and the great outlying class who do not know them, and give credit to their accusers, are far too impassioned to listen to the voice of reason."

Another member of the Society, whose name was conspicuous in the history of the Church of France, during the last century, speaking from another centre nearly sixty years ago, the famous Père de Ravignan, exclaims in the same sense; "*avec étonnement et avec tristesse.*" He is writing in the year 1843: "*Mes frères des Etats-Unis, d'Angleterre, et de Hollande sont libre et tranquilles: pourquoi ne le suis-je pas comme eux? . . . Je ne fais pas une démarche, je ne prononce pas une parole qui ne doive être violemment détournée de son vrai but, de son vrai sens. Je ne me nommais pas; "J'étais coupable, hypocrite. Je me nomme; je suis coupable. Je suis Jésuite: cela explique tout."* "Nous sommes pour la plupart connus en cent endroits. Nous avons parté en public, en particulier; des milliers de personnes nous ont suivis, entendus. On ne peut rien citer, contre nous: nous sommes jésuites; tout est dit . . . ."

And again "Nous subirons donc jusqu'à la fin ce joug de calomnies et d'outrages. Nous nous inclinons sous la main divin qui nous éprouve: nous trouverons notre force dans nos épreuves mêmes, et sûrs de notre conscience, devant Dieu, notre cœur ne faiblira pas."

## V.

As regards our Roman brethren I think they would allow that there is from time to time some tendency to be jealous, as between one Order and another, or one Society and another as the case may be; and perhaps the Jesuits come in for a little more than their full share; that is, amongst those who do not know them well.

Every Order and every Society has some characteristic that distinguishes it and makes it famous; and the Jesuits are great as teachers; perhaps, too, they are jealous for the faith.

They may from time to time be consulted, and children may be sent to their Schools; and this in the actual world will sometimes excite the jealousy of others.

Every Order will have to meet its share of this from time to time; and something of this kind appears to have contributed towards the ruin of the grand mission work of the Jesuits in China. The world owes an immense debt of gratitude to several Orders and Societies in the Roman Church, each having conferred some distinct benefit, from time to time, upon the Christian family; and I suppose it is right to say that the Jesuits have excelled in mission work and in teaching. We need not travel far for illustrations of the narrow and jealous spirit; and it is certain that in every society in the world, whether great or small, those in authority will turn instinctively for help to those who are best able to give it; they will be Dominicans at one time, Benedictines at another, Franciscans at another or, members of the Society of Jesus at another; but whoever they may be, jealousy will be excited in consequence

and will be tempted to express itself in solemn tones. Men of character are everywhere men of influence, and everywhere also a mark for the jealous mind ; and this even in spite of all attempts to efface themselves.

Meantime, I suppose the prayer of St. Ignatius for persecution was based on the recollection of our Saviour's own words, "If they have persecuted Me, they will also persecute you ; if they have kept My sayings they will keep yours also."

And again, "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake ; Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in Heaven."

#### SECTION XIV.—FORGERIES.

I am not going to make the impossible attempt of recording all the frauds and forgeries that have come up on one side or the other, as between England and the Holy See. But I will set down one principal forgery on the Roman side and one on the side of her enemies.

The False Decretals made their appearance in the Ninth Century, about the year 850. They were not composed by Popes, nor did they emanate from Rome, but from Western Gaul ; and although the title implies that all the documents comprised under it are false, in matter of fact a great portion of them are said to be genuine.

##### I.

It is very generally recognised that these documents introduced nothing new, even into the discipline of the Church.

The impressions of Neander and Milman have often been quoted and are well known. The former says :

"The Pseudo-Isidore was, at all events, but the organ of a tendency of the religious and ecclesiastical spirit which prevailed among the great masses of the men among whom he lived. He had no idea of introducing a new code, but only of presenting, in a connected form, the principles which must be recognised by every one as correct, and on which depended the well-being of the Church. . . . In truth, even what had been said by Leo the Great (A.D. 440-461) concerning the Pope's primacy over the whole Church, involves the principle of all that is to be found in the decretals; though Leo could not bring into effect, in his own age, those outlines of the ideal of a papacy which floated before his mind."

Milman concurs in this view: "If . . . the Papal Monarchy be a usurpation, and destructive of that economy which Christ meant should reign throughout His Church, at least it is undeniable that the Church from the beginning bore and fostered the germ within her. To the Bishop of Rome all may appeal, and from him none. He is the judge of all, whom none may judge. Every corner of the vineyard is open to him, who is its guardian, whenever the faith or peace of the Church is in danger. No canon avails without his sanction; and it is for him to interpret the canons according to the exigencies of time and circumstance.

"What the ancient Church does not claim for the Pope, she allows him to claim for himself. Restrictive laws seem to have been made for others, not for him. Patriarchs, the most ancient and the most august, are keenly criticised and sharply rebuked, if they speak proud things or interfere even with the humblest of their neighbours; the Bishop of Rome alone, it seems, cannot exalt himself above his rightful place, or intrude where he is not due. If he is rebuked, it is by heretics like the Eusebians, whom he detects and punishes; or if a saint says a sharp word the Church lets it fall to the ground, as if it knew not what he said. . . ."

Thus these writers agree in declaring that it cannot be proved that the pseudo-decretals contain anything absolutely new, anything that had not been said before.

And in another place Mr. Bowden, speaking more explicitly, says: "The immediate effect of the forgery was rather to sanction and consolidate relations already existing between the different orders of the Christian hierarchy than to introduce new ones." He goes on to say that when the work had once been received it "undoubtedly did much towards handing down in its completeness the system of Papal monarchy to subsequent ages." Nevertheless, "it derived its own weight at the epoch of its origin from the tendency which already existed in that system to perfect and extend itself."

Father Clarke, who has been already quoted in another connection, says: "There is not a single prerogative or privilege of Rome asserted in the False Decretals which was not generally recognised as the Common Law of the Christian Church. They changed nothing, altered nothing, added nothing: at most they only put into convenient shape what was before less easy of access, and so helped to popularise a doctrine which was sometimes forgotten by local prelates, and to keep before their minds that dependence on the Holy See which is the central doctrine of Catholic Ecclesiastical discipline." Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, may have been their editor; in any case, it appears certain that the author has Ebbo's special circumstances before him as he writes, and has Ebbo's interests "very near at heart." In allusion to the statement contained within the Decretals that no Council can be held without the leave of the Pope, Father Ryder considers that, "as applied to all diocesan or provincial Synods, this involves a disciplinary innovation." On the other hand, he quotes Blascus as saying that the Popes did not apply it to any Synod but such



as pretended in some sense to be general, or to deal with the reserved cases of bishops.

The same authority declares that no writer before the twelfth century applies this prohibition to synods generally.

There would seem to be no justification, either, for accusing Nicholas I, the Pope in whose day they made their appearance, of giving any kind of sanction to what he knew to be a forgery; and in the subsequent difficulty which came up between Hincmar and Rothade, Bishop of Soissons, the latter of whom appealed to Rome, Nicholas appears to have made no use whatever of the false Decretals. And in a later letter to Hincmar in 865, he mentions Popes who are authorities on the method to be pursued in the trial of Bishops, no allusion, again, being made to passages in the Decretals; and no papal letters being quoted before those of St. Siricius, whose letters are genuine.

## II.

The second forgery I shall give some account of is the forgery that may be known as "The Jesuit Oath."

I have already said in another part of this chapter what vows the Jesuit does take; the instance before us is that of an Oath which he does not take.

As it reappears from time to time, and has very recently come up again, it is important that its history should be known; else it "will betray more men." The document in question, which is generally introduced to us as the Form of Oath which "all Jesuits are accustomed to take," was printed in full a few months back, and also made the text of a leading article.

Father Gerard cites it at length in a recently published pamphlet, "as a specimen of the nonsense readily credited by men otherwise sensible, when there is a question of anything derogatory to the Catholic Church or her clergy."

“I, A.B., now in the presence of Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Blessed Michael, the Blessed St. John the Baptist, the Holy Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and all the Saints and the Sacred Host of Heaven, and to you my ghostly Father do declare from my heart, without mental reservation, that His Holiness Pope Leo is Christ’s Vicar General, and is the true and only Head of the Catholic or Universal Church throughout the earth, and that, by the virtue of the Keys of binding and loosing given to His Holiness by my Saviour Jesus Christ, he hath power to depose heretical Kings, Princes, States, Commonwealths, and Governments, all being illegal without his Sacred Confirmation, and that they may be safely destroyed. Therefore, to the utmost of my power, I shall and will defend this doctrine and His Holiness’s rights and customs against all usurpers, especially against the new pretended authority and the Church of England and all adherents in regard that they and she be usurpal and heretical, opposing the Sacred Mother Church of Rome. I do renounce and disown my allegiance as due to any heretical King, Prince, or State, named Protestants, or obedience to any of their inferior Magistrates or officers. I do further declare the doctrine of the Church of England, of the Calvinists, Huguenots, and of others of the name Protestants to be damnable, and they themselves are damned and to be damned that will not forsake the same. I do further declare that I will help, assist, and advise all or any of His Holiness’s agents in any place in which I shall be in England, Scotland and Ireland, or in any other territory or Kingdom I shall come to, and do my utmost to extirpate the heretical Protestants’ doctrine, and to destroy all their pretended powers, regal or otherwise. I do further promise and declare that, notwithstanding I am dispensed to assume any religion heretical for propagating of the Mother Church’s interests, to keep secret and private all her agents’ counsels from time to time as they interest me, and not to divulge,”

"directly or indirectly, by word, writing, or circumstance whatsoever, but to execute all what shall be proposed, given in charge, or discovered unto me by you, my ghostly Father. All of which I.A.B., do swear by the Blessed Trinity and Blessed Sacrament, which I now am to receive, and on my part to keep inviolable; and do call the Heavenly and glorious Host of Heaven to witness these my real intentions to keep this my oath. In testimony hereof I take this holy and blessed sacrament of the Eucharist and witness the same further with my hand and seal this day, Ann. Dom., etc."

It is, of course, to be distinctly understood that this document which was quoted by the Ladies' League in their Magazine and also by the daily newspaper, was so quoted under the impression that it was genuine; but it should also be distinctly understood that this was a mistaken impression, inasmuch as the document is in fact one continuous and unmitigated lie from first to last.

Father Gerard starts backwards in his quest, and comes first upon "a little pamphlet printed at Cheltenham, in 1847." Only one difference appears in that document as compared with the one before us. Instead of "Pope Leo," the earlier edition has "Pope Urban." From this a long stride is taken until we come to "the palmy days of mendacity, when Titus Oates ruled the roast."

The oath again comes out to view, but appears as "The Papist's Oath of Secrecy, administered to those who engage in the present Plot." "Discovered" by Robert Bolron, gentleman, to whom it was said to have been given by a priest William Rushton, "out of whose Breviary he translated it." (The words in inverted commas are Father Gerard's.)

Bolron appears to have been a Protestant most of his life; and it is not certain that he ever became a Catholic. "He got into trouble for embezzlement of money; and his accomplice, Maybury, who corroborated his

stories was convicted of theft. What is still more significant—when we regard the temper of the time—old Sir 'Thomas Gascoigne, against whom these worthies gave evidence as a Papist plotter, was acquitted by a jury. Such was Robert Bolron, who took the oath which the House of Commons (December 16, 1680) ordered him to print. It runs as follows :

“I, Robert Bolron, being in the presence of Almighty God, the Blessed Mary Ever Virgin, the Blessed Michael the Archangel, the Blessed St. John the Baptist, the Holy Apostles Saints Peter and Paul, and all the Saints in Heaven, and to you my Ghostly Father, do declare and in my heart believe the Pope, Christ's Vicar General, to be the true and only Head of Christ's Church here on earth, and that by virtue of the keys of binding and loosing, given to his Holiness by our Saviour Christ, he hath power to depose all heretical Kings and Princes, and cause them to be killed. Therefore, to the utmost of my power, I will defend this doctrine, and his Holiness's rights, against all usurpers whatever, especially against the now pretended King of England, in regard that he hath broke his vows with his Holiness's Agents beyond seas, and not performed his promises of bringing into England the Holy Roman Catholic religion.

“I do renounce and disown any allegiance as due to the said pretended King of England, or any of his inferior officers and magistrates, but do believe the Protestant doctrine to be heretical and damnable, and that all are damned which do not forsake the same, and to the best of my power will help his Holiness's Agents here in England to extirpate and root out the said Protestant doctrine, and to destroy the said pretended King of England, and all such of his subjects as will not adhere to the Holy See of Rome, and the Religion there professed.

“I further do promise and declare that I will keep”

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"secret and private, and not divulge directly or indirectly, by word, writing, or circumstance, whatever shall be proposed, given in charge, or discovered to me, by you, my Ghostly Father, or any other engaged in the promotion of this pious and holy design; and that I will be active, and not desist from the carrying of it on; and that no hopes of reward, threats, or punishments, shall make me discover the rest concerned in so pious a work, and, if discovered, shall never confess any accessories with myself concerned in this design."

"All which I do swear by the Blessed Trinity, and by the Blessed Sacrament, which I now purpose to receive, to perform, and on my part to keep inviolable; and do call all the Angels and Saints in Heaven to witness my real intention to keep this Oath.

"In testimony whereof, I do receive this most Holy and Blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist."

"In spite of the remarkable variations which it contains, this oath is unquestionably our old friend, adapted to special circumstances. The exact character of its relationship with the "Jesuit Oath" is a question full of interest. Though stamped so strongly and unmistakably with the family lineaments, Bolron's Oath, as for distinction's sake it may be styled, shows evident signs of having been affected by external influences; and, as we shall see, departs from the genuine type of its race in very important particulars."\*

Furthermore it appears that Titus Oates had "a worthy ally," in the person of Robert Ware. "White Oates perjured himself, Ware forged."

"It is simply appalling," says Father Gerard, "to think of the mischief which this one scoundrel has been able to effect in the way of poisoning the sources of our

\* Bolron's edition of the Oath is printed as a broadsheet headed, *The Papist's Oath of Secrecy*, by Randal Taylor. Also in Bolron's own narrative, to which is added a Papist's Litany, containing nothing objectionable, though some of the Saints invoked are little known. The narrative is to be found in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vii, 293.

"history, and investing malignant slanders with the semblance of respectable authority. His performances do not appear to have been for the most part even suspected, till, a few years ago, the late Father Bridgett, in his *Blunders and Forgeries*, tracked them out and ruthlessly gibbeted them."

The forgeries of Robert Ware began in 1678; and "by historical lies he helped to win credit for the monstrous stories of the "Popish Plot."

"Various of his fabrications were decanted for popular use in books bearing picturesque titles,—*The Hunting of the Romish Fox*, and *Foxes and Firebrands*. In the former is given a form of Oath required to be taken by all who entered the Catholic Seminaries beyond the seas, which is said to have been drawn up in 1580, a century before Bolron's time. In this may be detected the rudimentary but unmistakable features of the more developed article."

"There appears to be no doubt the 'Seminary Oath,' and the 'Jesuit Oath' issued from the same mint."

In both the phrase Mother Church occurs more than once; in both a clause appears about pretending to be of another religion. "The idea that Catholic priests, especially Jesuits, were "allowed, and even enjoined to simulate heresy for Catholic ends, which every Catholic knows to be utterly absurd, was a dominant note of Ware's, and regularly figures in his concoctions." The idea is intended to appear in the title *Foxes and Firebrands*; the Foxes being the Jesuits, and the Firebrands "denoting the insidious havoc which, after the manner of Samson's Foxes they wrought in the standing corn of the Evangelical Philistine."

Ware's great aim throughout is to vilify and traduce the Roman Catholic Church and religion.

This brings us to the last stage in the enquiry; and we find "Archbishop Usher" brought into the field, without any personal knowledge of his own.

In order to support his statement about the Seminary

Oath, Ware cites Cecil's *Memorials*, p. 196; and this suggests the further enquiry as to what document this is. Information on this point is supplied by one Nalson, who wrote the first part of *Foxes and Firebrands*, Ware contributing the second. In the first part there is the story of a Dominican who, it is alleged, feigned to be a Protestant, "being an extract out of the *Memorials* of the Lord Cecil, an eminent statesman in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; from whose papers it was transmitted to the Reverend Bishop Usher. . . . These papers of the Lord Primate coming to the hands of Sir James Ware, Knt., his son, Robert Ware, Esq., has obliged the public by the communication of them."

Robert Ware did not say that he had also manufactured them; "but the fraud not being detected, and Usher's being a good name, Strype and others freely, but most inexcusably, quoted as having Usher's authority what they found only in Ware's books; saying little or nothing of Ware himself. They were thus led, as Father Bridgett shows, to accept and publish many gross forgeries."

"The truth of the matter proves to be exactly as these various indications lead us to anticipate. We find the Oath produced by Robert Ware, assigned by him to the very period mentioned above, and fathered in very express terms upon Usher. Evidently, Ware took great pains with his work, which accounts for its extraordinary staying power, but a proud man would he doubtless have been could he have known that among the captives of his long-bow and spear were to be numbered journalists of the twentieth century."

In the third part of *Foxes and Firebrands* (1689), which is entirely by Robert Ware (though catalogued in the British Museum only under the pseudonym *Philirenes*), we read (pp. 171, *seq.*) as follows:—

"Having a collection of Romish policies, contrived by the Clergy and Orders of that Church, to nullify the Reformation of the Church of England, as they were

“collected formerly from and among the papers of the Most Reverend James Usher, sometime Archbishop of Armagh; and finding them useful, especially for these perilous days, to be divulged, and put forth to public view, I shall place them according to the copy, after this manner following:

“Anno 1636. *The Oath of Secrecy devised by the Roman Clergy, as it remaineth on record at Paris, amongst the Society of Jesus; together with several Dispensations and Indulgencies granted to all Pensioners of the Church of Rome, who disguisedly undertake to propagate the Faith of the Church of Rome, and her advancement. Faithfully translated out of French.*

“*This Oath was framed in the Papacy of Urban the 8th.*

“*Note how the Pope and Rome dispenses with her Emissaries, to assume outwardly any Religion.*”

“Having thus introduced it with due pomp and circumstance to impress his readers’ minds with the genuine nature of the document, Ware proceeds to print it in Gothic characters, thus investing it still further with the semblance of antiquity. It is exactly the same as the Oath from which we started, differing from what may be called the Standard Version—over and above a few clerical errors in the latter—only in the substitution of Pope Urban for Pope Leo.”

“This, then, is the true history of the Oath, which, in spite of common sense, many people will persist in believing to be taken by all Jesuits, none of whom would do anything of the sort for any consideration whatsoever. It is the malicious and slanderous fabrication of a notorious scoundrel, the worthy ally of Titus Oates, one of the most disreputable villains recorded in history.”

Forgeries, from whichever side they emanate, certainly constitute hindrances to the cause of Reunion; and to make some attempt to expose as well as to explain them will be found so far to provide us with helps.



## CHAPTER VI.

### THE HISTORY OF REUNION.

I shall now make some attempt to set down in outline a sketch of the principal attempts towards the Reunion of Christendom since the great disruption of the sixteenth century.

The dates, in each case, mark a point of time within the life of the person to whose name they are appended, and are selected as far as possible from the years composing the period of his activity.

Since movements of this kind are generally found to centre round and may therefore be traced to some one leading spirit it may be convenient to range the names and dates, one under another, thus :

#### SECTION I.—PEACEMAKERS.

Period : A.D. 1556—1900.

#### THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1. Ferdinand II, 1556.
2. Cassander, 1561.
3. Maximilian II, 1564.

## THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

1. Calixtus, 1614.
2. Ulrich, 1630.
3. Spinola, 1662.
4. Molanus, 1663.
5. Leibnitz, 1676.
6. Bossuet, 1685.

## THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

1. Dupin, 1702.
2. Peter the Great, 1717.

## THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

1. Doyle, 1827.
  2. Spencer, 1838.
  3. DeLisle, 1857.
  4. Pusey, 1865.
  5. Nelson, 1880.
  6. Halifax, 1894.
- The Oxford Conference, 1899.  
The Round Table Conference, 1900.

## THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1. Ferdinand II.—When Ferdinand II, succeeded to the throne in 1556, the Council of Trent was still in progress. With a character for much wisdom and toleration, he found himself ruler of “a most heterogeneous mass of Catholics, Protestants, Hussites, Anabaptists, and others, who were all at enmity one with another.”

In spite of difficulties he set his face stedfastly towards Reunion, and spent his life in devising and promoting means for reconciling all separatists. He urged the Protestants in vain to send representatives to the Council of Trent. Their theologians, they said, must have equal

rank with the bishops, and the Council itself must be transferred to some other centre.

He addressed himself to Pope Pius IV, begging him to restore the administration of the Cup to the laity, and liberty for the marriage of priests. The latter the Pope absolutely refused; but as regards the Cup negotiations were still pending at the time of his death.

2. Cassander.—George Cassander, a learned professor of theology at Bruges, and afterwards at Ghent, found his home ultimately at Cologne.

At Ferdinand's request he published his famous pamphlet at Basle in 1561, entitled, "*On the Duty of a Pious Man in this Dividing of the Church.*"

The view laid down in this treatise was that all matters of doctrine were to be decided by the rule of Holy Scripture, Canonical Authority, and Catholic tradition, "such traditions being universal and consentient;" rites and ceremonies might vary; and their having become corrupt would be a reason for attempting to set them right but not for schism.

After meeting with vehement opposition from Calvinists on the one side and from Roman theologians on the other, he published an able treatise in his own defence; and finally, in 1564, he was empowered by Ferdinand to draw up a series of "Articles of Comprehension," fifty in number; one being specially devoted to the question of administration of the Cup to the Laity.

Thereupon he was summoned by the Emperor to meet certain illustrious statesmen, bishops, and theologians, and to consult at Vienna concerning the points.

Ferdinand died that year; and although his successor, Maximilian II, renewed the invitation, Cassander died from an attack of gout before he could reach Vienna, and was buried near the Altar in the Church of St. Francis at Cologne.

## THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

1. Spinola. In the 17th Century Leibnitz was at the very heart and centre of the movement towards Reunion. But the name of Spinola must be mentioned, on the Roman side, as that of the "instigator and prime mover."

He was made a Cardinal, but refused the Archbishopric of Mechlin that he might be free to devote himself to the great cause of religious union.

Royas de Spinola travelled from Court to Court, corresponding and negotiating with princes, divines, and statesmen; and subsequently drew up an account of what he had done, a copy of which was made and preserved by Leibnitz. Spinola's view of the great problem was that differences and divisions arise from "want of mutual charity and patience thoroughly and sincerely to explain the true sense of each one of the different meanings which attach to one and the same word."

His desire was that Protestants should conform to Trent, but on the principle of toleration for both sides.

"In 1667 he sought the sanction of Rome for his proposals, and presented to the Pope twenty-five propositions setting forth the views of the chief Protestant divines on the chief subjects of Controversy." To these, after most careful deliberation, Pope Innocent XI, and the Cardinals gave their sanction. Leibnitz had the opportunity of actually reading the authentic documents; and they prove, he assures us, that the Pope, the Cardinals, and the General of the Jesuits, and Le Maistre du Saint Palais had not only been made fully acquainted with the negotiations but had approved of them.

The Papal Court was disposed to yield. Fourteen princes of Germany, and very many learned theologians approved, and the Emperor actually gave his support. In the event it was the intervention of France, the policy of Louis XIV, what Spinola himself describes as *malevolens factio gallica*, that ruined the cause. The Car-

dinal died in 1695; and Bossuet then took up the cause on the Roman side.

2. Leibnitz. Leibnitz was born at Leipzig in 1646. One of the most distinguished scientific men of his day, he also brought great powers of mind and conspicuous integrity of character to bear upon this question.

In connection with his efforts are associated the names of two successive Popes, of the Princes of Germany, of a great King of France, and above all of Bossuet, one of the most distinguished leaders of the French Church.

His controversy with the latter has excited some attention in France in more recent years; some of his hitherto unedited pamphlets and correspondence having been published by M. A. Foucher de Careil in 1854 and 1857.

As leader of the Orthodox Protestants Leibnitz steadfastly maintained the harmony of right reason with revelation, accepting for his rule of faith the famous dictum of Vincentius of Lerins, "Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus;" strenuously opposed the fatalism of Descartes and the philosophy of sensation identified with Locke; and threw himself heart and soul into the great cause of Reunion.

On two distinct occasions he entered upon a correspondence with Bossuet; and although he did not achieve his purpose he has left on record the principles which, in his view, should govern all such efforts.

Patient investigation by each side of the points at issue, and an exact statement of the views of both sides, so that good sense might decide between them—is the position he lays down.

"He who uses this method must be neither judge, plaintiff, defendant, nor umpire—simply reporter. He must be short and write clearly, so that no man may mistake his meaning."

This suggests the attitude of mind adopted by Paley towards the whole circle of Christian evidences; Newman on the other hand, in his *Grammar of Assent*, declares himself against it. Mere tolerance Leibnitz

considered to be inadequate; and in the absence of Courts of Appeal discussion does no good.

Consultations raise new controversies and explanations, or exposition, which is Bossuet's plan, cannot settle radical differences.

The one way, and the only way—so he maintained—is “abstraction or suspension, putting aside unimportant differences, referring essentials to a future Council.”

“The concessions which the Protestants, or the greater part of them, were on these principles prepared to make, are authoritatively set forth in a project drawn up by Leibnitz in the name of Molanus, “*Pour faciliter la réunion des Protestants avec les Romain Catholiques.*” These appear so important, that the record of them should not merely be preserved but widely made known.

- (1) Protestants shall retain the communion in two kinds, but shall not blame communion in one kind.
- (2) Solitary masses, “sans communion,” the use of a language unknown to the people, and other Roman usages not to be introduced into Protestant Churches, which shall retain their own rites, and they shall allow the same freedom which they enjoy to others, the Pope reforming abuses.
- (3) Marriage of Ecclesiastics shall be left free.
- (4) Previous ordinations of Protestant clergy to be valid, but in future what shall be considered essential by the Roman Church to be observed.
- (5) Church property to remain undisturbed, according to the Peace of Westphalia.
- (6) The Pope to take off anathemas and excommunication from Protestants, and uniting with them, declare them neither to be heretics nor schismatics; and this, notwithstanding any discussions which may remain in respect of Controversies yet undetermined, or such as may be set aside or reserved for the future decision of a Council Œcumenical.”

Leibnitz, considers that the Pope might, without any surrender of his own principles, grant all these.

If the Roman See should agree to all these demands, Protestants would promise on their part :

- (1) To recognise in the Bishop and See of Rome a primacy of order, dignity, and direction over the whole universal Church ; to honour and respect him as supreme Patriarch, chief Bishop of the Catholic Church, and chief Ecclesiastical Minister, and to be obedient to him according to the right which belongs to him in spiritual matters.
- (2) To acknowledge the established hierarchy.
- (3) To recognise Roman Catholics as brethren, and cultivate union with them in mutual charity, notwithstanding controversies reserved for the Church's decision.
- (4) When Reunion has taken place they will do their utmost, not only to preserve it, but also to extend and perfect it more and more, and Roman Catholics will do the same, that all hatred and suspicion may at last be done away.
- (5) If an Œcumenical Council shall be found the only means of ending controversies, Protestants will submit to its legitimate definitions. In such a Council Protestants shall be acknowledged as Catholics, and their clergy hold in it equal ranks with Roman Catholic clergy of the same standing.

As regards the Holy See, Leibnitz saw no reason why Protestants should object to the authority of the Bishop of Rome equally in summoning and governing a Council ; since in every college and society of men there is need of a director ; and he held that it was fitting that this authority should reside in Rome, the metropolis of the Christian world. "The prerogatives," he said, "of the Roman See are of human right, although the government itself in the Church, which for human interests is conferred upon it, is of Divine right."

Bossuet, the Pope, and the King of France were inflexible and rejected the proffered terms.

In a very interesting passage De Careil enumerates what he considers to have been the reasons for this failure. He says that the scheme, like a river diverted from its natural course, failed because, being forced to flow in another channel, "from religious it became political, especially with Protestants, because the party of civil toleration which Leibnitz represented never forgave Louis XIV the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. . . ."

But in spite of every failure Leibnitz held firmly to his hope. "Reunion," he said, "will yet take place, for it is the will of God."

He died in 1716.

3. Bossuet. It can scarcely be said of Bossuet that he entertained any hope of success at any stage in this controversy. It was only in response to the urgent request of Madame de Brinon and Pelisson that he consented to take up the subject. He fastened upon submission, both word and thing, and ignored what are known as *Media Compositionis*. There is the authority, and men should submit to it. Or, to use his own words, "Ou vient à nous qu'on accepte nos dogmas, ou bien alors pourquoi vient donc." But he agreed with Leibnitz in hoping that good would eventually come out of these efforts.

"It is to be hoped," he writes, in his final letter to Leibnitz, "It is to be hoped these things will have their effect some day if not now."

## THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

1. Dupin. The name of Dupin in the beginning of the eighteenth century, on the Roman side, is associated with that of Wake on the side of the English Church. But what makes their correspondence remarkable is the fact that the overtures came from Dupin in the first



instance, a Latin letter being addressed by him to our Archbishop expressing a desire for union between the Churches of France and England. But another fact adds to the significance of this letter.

Dupin in writing to Wake was acting as a medium of communication between the famous College of the Sorbonne and the English Archbishop. But the latter required a formal dissent on the part of the Sorbonne to all the superstition and ambition of the Court of Rome; which is only another way of saying that he declined to negotiate. Dupin meantime incurred the displeasure of the Roman authorities, who seized his papers, deprived him of his professorship, and banished him to Castelherault.

2. Peter the Great. Peter the Great, after his victory over the Swedes at Pultowa, became a great traveller. In 1717 he visited Paris, and took part in the procession on Whitsun Day and attended service at the Cathedral at Notre Dame. He was afterwards received with great ceremony at the Royal College of the Sorbonne; and was there presented with a plan for the Reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches with the Gallican Church in particular. It had been drawn up by the theologians of the College, Dupin here again taking the leading part.

The Czar directed the Russian bishops to answer it. But their plea was that without the consent of the four Eastern Patriarchs they could not presume to determine the questions proposed to them. Whether this consent was ever sought or not does not appear.

Overtures were being made, it would seem, by some of the later Nonjuring bishops, at the same time and in the same direction.

## THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

1. Doyle. Dr. Doyle was one of the ablest Roman Catholic bishops of his day, and in 1827, when a proposal was made for the Reunion of the Churches in Ireland, he entertained the idea with so much zeal and earnestness that in order to remove any impediments he did his utmost to minimise the differences between the two Churches, and even offered to resign his Bishopric.

The negotiations continued for some time, and were frustrated, strange though it may seem, by the opposition of Alexander Knox.

2. Spencer. The Honourable George Spencer, the youngest son of Earl Spencer, was born on December 21st, 1799, at the Admiralty in London. After being educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, he was ordained by Dr. Marsh, Bishop of Peterborough in 1822.

In 1829 he was introduced to Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, who persuaded him to be received into the Roman Church.

And nine years later, in 1838, he commenced what may be described as his life work. Henceforth during the remaining years of his time as a secular priest, that is, until 1849, and subsequently as a Passionist until the day of his death in 1864, he prayed and worked for the peace and unity of the Church.

During the tour that he took with his dearest friend, Ambrose Phillipps, on the Continent in 1844, he fastened his attention upon persons rather than places as if he would say with St. Paul or with Howard, the great Prison Reformer—"This one thing, I do." Father Spencer, throughout his life, displayed that zeal which St. Thomas defines as "an intense love by which one is moved against and repels whatever is detrimental to the good of his friend, and does his best to prevent whatever is against the honour or will of God."

Without a spirit like this, supernatural in its origin

such a life work as his would have been too much for flesh and blood to survive.

Readers of the *Apologia* of Cardinal Newman will recall the passage in which he alludes to Father Spencer's visit to Oxford in 1840 "to get Anglicans to set about praying for unity." On October 1st, 1864, when finding his way to Carstairs House, the residence of Mr. Monteith, he fell suddenly and expired.

3. De Lisle. Ambrose Lisle March Phillipps de Lisle was the eldest son of Charles March Phillipps, J.P. and D.L., of Garendon Park and Grace-Dieu Manor, in the County of Leicester, and of Harriet his wife, daughter of Gerard Gustavus Ducarel, of Walford, in the County of Somerset.

The De Lisles were descended from Fitzazor, a valiant knight who appears to have come over to England with William the Conqueror, and was rewarded for his valour by a grant of land in the Isle of Wight, and this remained in the possession of the family until the beginning of the last century. The name de Insula, de Lisle, or Lisle is derived from William the Conqueror's grant.

In ancient times four members of the family were Governors of the Isle of Wight.

Ambrose was born on the 17th of March, 1809, the same year as Mr. Gladstone, an intimate friend of his after life; and received his first religious teachings from his uncle, the Rev. William March Phillipps, a zealous member of the High Church Party of that day. Sophia March Philipps, the aunt of Ambrose, was the wife of the Hon. and Rev. Henry Dudley Ryder, Dean of Bath and Wells, who subsequently became Bishop of Gloucester, being translated eventually, in 1824, to the See of Lichfield.

Ambrose was in the habit of spending his Sundays as well as his Christmas holidays with his uncle at the Palace in Gloucester, being at that time under the tuition of the Rev. George Hodson, at Maizemore Court School, near that City. His teacher in French was the

Abbé Giraud, a venerable emigré priest, a member of that numerous body who were driven into exile by the French Revolution. The high example set by his tutor made a distinct impression on the mind of Ambrose and led him to devote some study to the principles he professed.

Eventually, at the early age of fifteen years, and by his own deliberate wish, he was received into the Roman Church in the year 1824.

Like his friend, Father Spencer, he devoted his entire life to the cause of Reunion; and his view of the subject was somewhat unusual, at least with Roman Catholics.

He recognised the continuity but not the orthodoxy of the Church of England; and his hopes may be expressed thus;—Canterbury and York were formerly two provinces within the one Church that recognised its centre in the Holy See; may we not dare to hope and pray that Catholic teaching may so effectually regain its hold upon the Anglican Communion as to make Reunion with that See an ultimate possibility.

On the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, 1857, De Lisle took a leading part with the Rev. Frederick George Lee, subsequently for some years Vicar of All Saints', Lambeth, in the establishment of the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom.

In the French version of the articles of association a passage occurs which eventually excited the alarm of the Roman Catholic Bishops in England. Their representation to the Holy See elicited the formal Papal Rescript, dated September 16th, 1864, and addressed *Ad omnes Episcopos Angliæ*, the decision of which was subsequently communicated to the members of the association by Cardinal Patrizi. In the course of this letter occurs the following passage, "The Sacred Congregation, after mature examination, has judged it necessary to take measures that the faithful be instructed not to join, under the guidance of heretics, this society along with the same heretics and schismatics. . . . .

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De Lisle felt this act to be a death-blow to his hopes for Reunion, at least during his life time; and other Roman Catholics who like him had identified themselves with the movement were now compelled to withdraw. Among these appear the names of Father Lockhart, one of the Oxford converts, and Dr. Moriarty, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kerry.

That Cardinal Manning was ultimately responsible for this breakdown will appear if we turn to chapter xiii in his *Life*.

The fatal passage in the French version, to which allusion has already been made, runs as follows: "La Réunion en un seul Corps des trois grands Corps qui ont conservé l'héritage du sacerdoce, et le nom de Catholique."

De Lisle, of course, could not in the very nature of things have consented to anything which implied that Anglicans, Greeks, and Romans actually were on the same level or actually did hold the same faith; but what he personally did assert was that they professed to hold the Catholic faith; meantime to the Anglicans in particular he might be understood as saying "You profess to follow the same rule as the Catholic Church, endeavour, then, as far as you can to make your profession a reality by acting upon it." And this is the line I have attempted to lay down in my second chapter.

De Lisle was misunderstood and was disposed to resent it. But this, I think, is a mistake, for all who join the ranks of the Reunionists must be prepared for misunderstandings. It is natural and inevitable that it should be so; they will be considered disloyal, dishonest, and traitors to "their own Communion." I should not myself resent such imputations, nor be embittered by them; they are made in good faith on one side and should be recognised as misunderstandings on the other.

De Lisle, acting under the advice of Father Lockhart, sent in his formal resignation of membership accompanied with a protest.

This was in the year 1864.

This reverse, however, is generally understood to have given a new direction to his religious opinions, and to have made him less Ultramontane; an impression which appears to be confirmed by his attitude in 1870, at the time of the Vatican Council.

He continued to pray for Reunion, although he saw it to be further off than at one time he had allowed himself to expect; and he endeavoured to persuade his friend Mr. Gladstone to give his mind to the subject and write upon it. In the course of a letter to him written in 1877, the year before his death, De Lisle says: "I will just quote what a Catholic friend of mine wrote the other day in a letter to me on this subject.

"It seems to me to be of the utmost importance to induce Mr. Gladstone to write a letter on the Reunion stating freely the obstacles which he thinks have been placed in the way of reconciliation by the late decrees of the Vatican Council. If you could persuade him to state his desire for Reunion and his reasons for regarding it as less hopeful now than in former years, you would do perhaps the greatest service to the cause we have at heart. For, say what they may, Catholics as well as Anglicans have profound respect for Mr. Gladstone's earnestness of character and deep religious convictions. His statement would arrest the attention of all, and might do much in the end to clear up difficulties." In his reply to this letter, dated January 23, 1877, at The Palace, Wells, Mr. Gladstone explained that although he had once had "a design to serve the cause" by writing "upon some of the questions of religious philosophy now debated," he feared "he was not equal to writing on the subject of Reunion," at any rate, "not without much more of mental leisure than, now that the Eastern question has come up, I am likely to obtain."

What Mr. Gladstone himself thought of De Lisle's

character we know from his own words addressed to Mr. Edmund Purcell, the author of a portion of *The Life*. "I should call De Lisle," he wrote, "an Israelite indeed, in whom was no guile." And Newman wrote of him in 1857: "If England is converted to Christ, it will be as much due, under God, to you as to anyone."

On Christmas Day 1877, Ambrose De Lisle took to his bed from which he never rose again. He experienced, at the Midnight Mass, a sudden failure of heart and mind; and although it was only of temporary duration he recognised it as a summons and a warning that the end was not far off. For half a century he had sung at this Midnight Mass and "while chaunting on this occasion with his wonted glee, as his head began to swim he thought he heard a voice ask him whether he would not like to have rest and peace. . . . He answered . . . Yea, Lord, I am ready."

"As to him," wrote Newman, on hearing of his illness, "there are few men so sure of Heaven as he."

He made a general confession of his whole life to Don Cæsario Tondini, Barnabite, and during the last week of his earthly life he "enjoyed the most Heavenly peace;" finally passing away on the 5th of March, 1878 "falling asleep like a child in the arms of its mother."

Let no one say that the example of so beautiful a life or that any effort on his part towards Reunion whether in the shape of work or prayer will be allowed ultimately to fail.

*The Life* was published in the year 1900.

4. Pusey. Edward Bouverie Pusey, the youngest son of Jacob, first Viscount Folkestone, was born at Pusey House, in Berkshire, on Friday, the 22nd of August, 1800. He was educated at Eton and Christchurch, and was elected in 1823, to a Fellowship at Oriel. In order to study the language and theological learning of Germany he left London on June 5, 1825, for Göttingen. At Berlin he became acquainted with Augustus

Neander, the Church historian; and eventually after paying a second visit to Germany for the purpose of studying the "cognate dialects of Hebrew," he was ordained deacon at Christ Church on June 1, 1828. Five years later, 1833, he fell into line with the Oxford Movement and, as Newman tells us in the *Apologia*, "at once gave to us a position and a name." It is unnecessary to travel any further over ground that has been so fully described elsewhere.

It was not until Pusey was sixty-four years of age, nineteen years after the secession of John Henry Newman, that his *Eirenicon* was given to the world.

Newman at once recognised the significance of such an essay, coming as it did from one who had been "the present and untiring agent by whom a great work" had been effected in the Anglican Church.

"You cannot speak," Newman writes, "merely for yourself; your antecedents, your existing influence, are a pledge to us that what you may determine will be the determination of a multitude."

As I am only attempting to provide in this chapter an outline which others may afterwards fill in as their conscience and their interest may direct, I will refer the reader to Dr. Pusey's Essay *An Eirenicon*, published in three volumes; the first of which was addressed in the shape of a letter to the Author of the *Christian Year*, and the second and third to Dr. Newman, and to the answer written by Dr. Newman to volume ii in which he devotes himself entirely to the question of the Blessed Virgin, the devotional and doctrinal relation of "Catholics" to her, and the misconceptions of Anglicans. This letter forms the first portion of the second volume of Newman's *Difficulties of Anglicans*. Meantime I will quote a characteristic passage from Pusey's letter and a characteristic passage also in Newman's answer to it.

"The English Church has not rejected a visible head; but only disowns, as the Eastern Church does, the monarchy of the Bishop of Rome." And in his answer



Newman writes "Whereas it was said twenty-five years ago (1840) in the *British Critic* 'Till Rome ceases to be what practically she is, union is impossible between her and England,' you declare on the contrary 'Union is possible as soon as Italy and England having the same faith and the same centre of unity are allowed to hold severally their own theological opinions.'"

Over and beyond the significant advance that is represented by such a statement, there is a very special interest attaching to a correspondence between two men of such great distinction; men who were dead to the world and devoted to truth, and who must so often in former years have conferred together over difficulties in Roman teaching and practice which in the case of one of them at least had evaporated in the light of a fuller experience.

I think anyone who will read pp. 227 to 283 in Pusey's Second Letter, dated "Feast of All Saints, 1869," that is, the year before the Vatican Definition, will realise what is so often forgotten, that a definition is, by the very meaning of the term, a limitation; and that in some respects the hopes of Reunion have become brighter since, and in consequence of the Definition, than they were before. To suppose that the Infallibility of the Pope was never entertained until it was defined is a mischievous imagination; and the definition not merely declared what the Pope's power is, but what it is not. This is better understood now by Roman Catholics as well as by Anglicans. And as to the extravagant claims of the Italian School for the Pope quoted by Pusey (let it be remembered—before the Definition), viz., "absolute personal irresponsibility, absolute authority over Canons;" and so forth—this was the vague, wild talk of extremists and theorists, such as might be expected prior to the prolonged and careful discussions of the Vatican Council itself, and of the years which immediately succeeded it.

The notion, prevalent at that time, and still preva-

lent in some quarters now, that the Pope was alone to be regarded as the true bishop, and that other bishops were mere delegates of the supreme Pontiff, is absolutely and expressly repudiated by the present Pope Leo XIII. in his Encyclical on Unity (1896); the spirit and temper of which so deeply touched the late Archbishop of Canterbury. Speaking of the Episcopate, Leo XIII. says:

“But if the authority of Peter and his successors is plenary and supreme, it is not to be regarded as the sole authority. For He who made Peter the foundation of the Church also chose twelve whom he called Apostles; and just as it is necessary that the authority of Peter should be perpetuated in the Roman Pontiff, so, by the fact that the bishops succeed the Apostles, they inherit their ordinary power, and thus the Episcopal Order necessarily belongs to the essential constitution of the Church. Although they do not receive plenary, or universal, or supreme authority, they are not to be looked on as Vicars of the Roman Pontiffs; because they exercise a power really their own, and are most truly called the ordinary pastors of the peoples over whom they rule.”

He then goes on to explain that although the authority of Bishops is truly their own they must needs be in union with the Supreme Pontiff; since “once this bond is broken, Christians would be separated and scattered, and would in no wise form one body and one flock.

“Hopes”—is the title on the last pages of Pusey’s letter; and on the last page but one he thus writes: “To others in your Communion (Roman Communion) I would only say through you, that neither in this nor in my former work have I thought to speak against anything which is ‘of faith’ among you; one only desire I have had, if it were possible to such as me, to promote a solid, healthful, lasting peace.” And again in an earlier page (p. 280) he writes: “Bossuet, of course, could not but have disapproved, under any circumstances, our present state of isolation from the Roman

See. But if the authority of the Roman See in the time of Henry VIII had only been that which Bossuet speaks of as the legitimate exercise of that authority—enforcing the observance of the Canons but regulated and limited by them, leaving the right of appointment to ecclesiastical offices to those in whom they were of old canonically vested, as they were secured in France by the Pragmatic Sanction—there would have been no room for the abuses which were complained of for centuries and unremedied, and which furnished an excuse, to which Henry VIII appealed.”

“And now too, I believe, that the recognition of the principles of Bossuet would remove the objections both of people and clergy.”

Now let these words be carefully weighed and placed alongside of others which appear on p. 341. “I wish, in this new *Eirenicon*, to be understood as speaking in the name of no one but my single self. I have consulted no one. The one whom I ever consulted, with whom I was ever one, who was deeply interested in whatever might promote healthful reunion, to whom (Keble) in his last days the hope was a subject of joy, can now only pray for it, but perhaps does more for us there. I write, then, in the name of no party. But I do write in the full confidence that I express the feelings of thousands upon thousands of English hearts, “both here and in the United States, when I say, that if, not individual but accredited Roman authority could say “Reunion would involve your professing your belief in this, and that, and that, but it would not involve your receiving such and such opinions, or practices, or devotions, or matters of discipline,” I believe that the middle wall of partition which has existed so long in, as we believe, the one fold of Christendom would be effectually shattered.” And once more recall the words of Keble’s earlier years; “Speak lightly of our sister’s fall,” and is it not true to say that the drift of the Oxford Movement as represented by its three great

chiefs rightly leads us to look for Reunion in the direction of the Holy See? Of the famous three, Keble was already forty-one years of age when the first note was struck (in 1833); he bids us "speak lightly," and his thoughts are apparently running on the lines of this subject at the last; Pusey, the next in age, is found to have distinctly advanced in the line he adopts in 1864, and cannot be persuaded by Gladstone and others to write strongly against Rome; and Newman, the youngest, goes whole-heartedly over to the Holy See, and subsequently explains many misunderstandings, and confesses to having formerly entertained many misapprehensions. Let us, then, have freedom for the discussion of these questions, which it required so much courage in Pusey's days even to broach, and let us have a full and complete restatement of the subject before us for the purposes not of controversy, but of conference and explanation.

6. Nelson. The name of Earl Nelson has been identified for many years with high aims, noble projects and that special type of solid goodness and Churchmanship which is almost characteristically English.

His attention and zeal have been directed towards our separated brethren in England; and for some years his Home Reunion Notes in the pages of *Church Bells* have kept the subject before the minds of its readers and contributed their share towards that larger movement which has made a distinct impression upon the consciousness of the English people.

Lord Nelson has been doing for us at home what Lord Halifax has been labouring to do for us abroad.

7. Halifax. When we turn to the name of Viscount Halifax and ask ourselves how it comes to be that the great wall of prejudice, misunderstanding, and indifference, hitherto separating us from our Roman brethren, is cracking and, as I trust, breaking to pieces all along the line, we have to acknowledge how much of this is due to him.

I am not claiming his sanction for any special line of my own; but we surely owe Lord Halifax a debt of gratitude for having the courage to speak as he has spoken; and only one who was single-minded and in earnest could have broken new ground as he certainly has done.

"Do not let us be afraid," he said, in his famous speech at Bristol, "Do not let us be afraid to speak plainly of the possibility, of the desirability of a union with Rome. Let us say boldly we desire peace with Rome with all our hearts.

"Public opinion will never be influenced if we hold our tongues. It is influenced by those who, without any concealment, have the courage of their opinions. It is the interest of the whole Church of Christ, it is the interest of political order, it is the interest of the human race that these estrangements in the Christian family should cease. The cause is good, we have no need to be ashamed of it. Let us frankly avow it to be our own."

Noble words! but what an awful commentary upon the ravages of sin that we should have almost to apologise for them. A Community of Christians apologising for saying to 240,000,000 of their brethren "We should like to love you."

However, the English people, I think, whatever their prejudices may be, know how to respect one who is genuine; and who, knowing what he means, is not afraid to say it.

It only remains for me in this chapter to add some further particulars, whether in regard to Associations or Conferences, which from various and sometimes contradictory points of view are directing their love and zeal towards the great end of Reunion.

## SECTION II.—SOCIETIES.

1. **Evangelical Alliance.** In 1846 a meeting was convened in London, when some 800 Evangelical Christians—Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Moravians, Lutherans and others of various nations assembled to complete the efforts of previous years, by the formation of the Evangelical Alliance. The President of the Meeting was the late Sir Culling Eardley Eardley, Bart., and among others, since deceased, who associated themselves with the work, we find the names of the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, Dr. Chalmers, J. Angell James, and the Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel. The aim of the Society is “to promote the union” of all true disciples of Christ, “to discourage strifes and divisions, and to impress upon Christians a deeper sense of the great duty of obeying their Lord’s command to love one another and to seek the full accomplishment of His prayer, “that they all may be one.” I have made a fuller quotation of the statement which they make of their characteristic position, in the second chapter of this book; and although I am not myself able to follow their line, that does not prevent me from joining with others in respecting their motives. It is as to the means and not as to the end that I find myself out of agreement with them.

2. **Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom.** This Society was founded in 1857; and in the list of its first members we find the names of the Very Reverend Bowles Knuttesford-Fortescue, Provost of Perth Cathedral, who at the first meeting was elected Master, and the Reverend Frederick George Lee, who was appointed Secretary. The present Secretary, Mr. George A. Macirone and the late Mr. J. D. Chambers were also present.

The aim of the Association will best appear in a quotation from its Annual Report for 1900.

"The many thousands of our Associates enrolled include Clergy and Laity, Latin, Greek, Anglican, Armenian, Jacobite, Nestorian, Chaldean, Lutheran, Calvinist, who have inherited many repulsions, but a bond stronger still, and it is hoped that by dwelling on occasions such as these (the allusion is to certain Monthly Addresses and Intercessions) and at all times, on agreement to promote the will of our one Lord and Master, we may obtain the blessing we seek from Him."

In the year 1864, on hearing that several Roman Catholics were co-operating with the Society and contributing articles or letters to the *Union Review*, the bishops of the Roman Communion addressed a letter to the Holy Office in April, and elicited a reply prohibiting Roman Catholics from taking part in the association or showing it favour.

In consequence of this a letter signed by one hundred and ninety-eight Anglican Clergymen, belonging to the association, was presented to Cardinal Patrizi on their behalf by Mgr. Talbot.

Archbishop Manning, being consulted as to the "broad lines to be observed in dealing" with the association, laid down the principle that truth comes first and unity is the consequence of it; and that the unity of the Church being absolute and indivisible, no countenance could be given to the Three Branch theory; the name of Catholic belonging to the Roman Church alone. And the Archbishop went on to say words of such deep significance that I have thought it best to set down a portion of them in this place. The entire passage will be found on p. 216, Vol ii, *Life of Manning*. "We gladly recognise in it an influence and an impulse of supernatural grace. It is a wonderful reaction from the days within living memory (he is writing in 1865) when fidelity to the Church of England was measured by repulsion from the Church of Rome. It is as wonderful an evidence of the flow in the stream which has carried the minds of men onward for these thirty years nearer

and nearer to the frontiers of the Catholic faith. It is a movement against the wind and tide of English tradition and of English prejudice; . . . . A change has visibly passed over England. Thirty years ago its attitude towards the Catholic Church was either intense hostility or stagnant ignorance. It is not so now. There is still much hostility and much ignorance. But the hostility is more civilised, and the ignorance is breached on all sides."

Cardinal Wiseman, whose death happened at this time, had shown great kindness to the members and entertained some hopes in regard to their charitable aims. Ambrose de Lisle, too, had taken an active interest in their work, of which I have already spoken in this chapter.

The answer of the Roman Inquisition, as I have elsewhere said, refused to countenance the three branch theory; but De Lisle pointed out in regard to the Association, as he also did in regard to himself, that the members did not anywhere state that the three Communions have an equal right to the name Catholic, but that each claims the name Catholic. I cannot myself see why the three branch theory should be maintained; it is, I think, impossible to explain it in any sense that is consistent with genuine Unity of any kind; meantime it tends to perpetuate our unhappy divisions by inducing us to acquiesce in things as they are; as if there were a sense in which we now—are one, and must under all conditions in a certain sense remain so. Whereas if we can only acknowledge plainly, with Mr. Everest, the primacy of the Holy See, and regard our own separation as temporary and provisional, we shall be encouraged to work for a unity which will bear looking into and which is more truly in accordance with our Lord's will.

The Master of the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom at the present time (1901) is Mr. Athelstan Riley, and the Honorary Secretary, who



has taken so active an interest in its work from the outset, is Mr. George Augustus Macirone.

3. Home Reunion Society. This society was founded after the first Church Congress at Wolverhampton, under the presidency of Bishop Lonsdale. It has held services with special preachers, when there has been a large attendance of Protestant Nonconformists. Its great work has been a conference with six Anglican priests and six Congregationalist ministers, with Lord Nelson in the Chair. For many years Home Reunion Notes have been contributed by Lord Nelson to the pages of *Church Bells*. A recent contribution of his Lordship to that paper included some very interesting passages from an introductory lecture on the Union of the Free Church of Scotland and the United Presbyterian Church, by the Rev. James Cooper, D.D., Professor of Church History in the University of Glasgow. Two or three lines bear so very distinctly upon the subject of this Essay that I am tempted to quote them.

“We must grave upon our hearts the command to unity. I believe that schism everywhere is evil. I believe there lies on Christians a permanent obligation to agree. I regard unity essential alike to the being and the mission of the Church. . . . Our common unity which we have in Christ in virtue of our individual membership in Him, so far from excusing our withdrawing from each other’s fellowship, condemns it. It is our crime that we are brethren, and yet live as aliens.”

## SECTION III.—CONFERENCES.

1. The Oxford Conference. In December, 1899, a private Conference took place at Oxford, with the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Dr. Sanday, in the chair; the subject being Priesthood and Sacrifice.

The idea was to bring men of divergent opinions face to face in order to clear the ground, but not in the vain hope of at once producing agreement. The plan was to assemble three groups of five members each. One group of definite High Churchmen; a second group of clergymen who declined to be so described; and a third group composed of Dissenting divines.

The Dissenters were represented by Dr. Fairbairn, Dr. Salmond, a Presbyterian of Aberdeen, Dr. Forsyth, the distinguished Congregationalist of Cambridge, Dr. Davison, a Wesleyan, and Mr. Arnold Thomas, who is understood to represent the later phase of Congregationalism.

In the Second Group were Dr. Sanday, Archdeacon Wilson, Dr. Ryle of Cambridge, Dr. Handley Moule, who unfortunately failed at the last moment, Canon Bernard, and the Rev. A. C. Headlam, who came in to take the place of Dr. Moule.

In the First Group were Father Puller, Dr. Moberly, Canon Gore, Canon Scott-Holland, and the Rev. C. G. Lang (since consecrated Bishop of Stepney).

It is impossible to do justice to a Conference of this kind in a mere sketch such as I am here professing to give. A full report has been published and should be read.

The unique character and effect of the work of Christ as mediator and priest appears to have been a point upon which a very remarkable measure of agreement was attained.

The individual and corporate priesthood of Christ's people was another point of agreement; and the third

point of agreement was the Essential Unity of the Church as identified with the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit.

2. The Round Table Conference.\*—In pursuance of a resolution passed at the London Diocesan Conference on May 16th, 1900, a Conference was held at Fulham Palace, on October 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th, in the same year. Invitations to attend were issued by the Bishop of London (The Right Honourable and Right Reverend Mandell Creighton), and the following are the names of those who accepted:—

Rev. W. H. Barlow, D.D., Vicar of Islington; Prebendary of St. Paul's.

Rev. H. E. I. Bevan, M.A., Rector of Upper Chelsea; Gresham Professor of Divinity.

Rev. C. Bigg, D.D., Rector of Fenny Compton.

W. J. Birkbeck, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Rev. Nathaniel Dimock, M.A.

Rev. Charles Gore, M.A., D.D., Canon of Westminster.

Viscount Halifax, M.A., F.S.A.

Rev. H. C. G. Moule, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.

Rev. W. C. E. Newbolt, M.A., Canon of St. Paul's.

Rev. A. Robertson, D.D., Principal of King's College, London.

Rev. J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Canon of Westminster.

Rev. W. Sanday, D.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and Canon of Christchurch.

P. V. Smith, Esq., L.L.D., Chancellor of the Diocese of Manchester.

The Earl of Stamford, M.A.

Rev. Henry Wace, D.D., Rector of St. Michael's, Cornhill; Prebendary of St. Paul's.

On the motion of Viscount Halifax, seconded by Prebendary Barlow, Dr. Wace was elected Chairman;

\* I am indebted for the substance of this outline to a report in the *Church Times*.

the Bishop of London remaining apart from the Conference, and, as a matter of principle, making no comment upon its result.

All the members of the Conference subsequently expressed to the Bishop their appreciation of the tact and skill of Dr. Wace, as Chairman. And it was to the latter that the minutes in the form which they finally took in the Report are due.

The subject for discussion throughout was :—

“The Doctrine of Holy Communion and its Expression in Ritual.”

And the object of the Conference was not to attempt to elaborate new formulæ but to record opinions.

The Form of the Conference was :—

A Committee appointed to report to the Bishop of London.

The Form of the Report was ;—

A Copy of the Minutes presented to his Lordship.

The members, by the special request of the Bishop, stayed at the Palace throughout, in order to avail themselves of the intervals between the sessions for private conversation upon the various aspects under discussion.

#### SECTION IV.—CONCLUSION.

Now, after reading this brief outline of attempts that have been made in the past to recover that state of mutual relations which was unhappily interrupted in the Sixteenth Century, a forlorn feeling comes over the mind at first, as if the whole enterprise were necessarily hopeless; and we are tempted to abandon it in despair.

There are cities of refuge awaiting us if we should do so. We can use the old arguments, that while Rome is what she is, reunion is impossible, and that since so blessed a consummation is not destined to be attained in our day we should continue to pray but no longer to

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work for Reunion. Such arguments as these have the entire weight of our weaker nature on their side. The process of what is known as taking pains is never popular, and we are tempted to look about for excuses to dismiss the entire subject from our minds or at least to put it off to a more convenient season.

It is natural to us to swim with the tide and mechanically to repeat the old language of prejudice; and I have made some attempt in this essay to shake myself free of this mood which so easily overtakes us.

Everyone may do something in his own generation towards reducing the distance which separates the great bodies of Christians one from another; and that is all I have hoped for in what I have here attempted to say.

It only remains for me now to gather up the threads of my argument.

1. And first I have made some attempt to show that not a few of our misunderstandings may be traced to our habit of viewing things out of their true proportion; texts viewed apart from their contexts; moral faults looked at independently of the total character to which they belong; and individual persons detached from their proper surroundings and from the circumstances and general level of their times.

Popes in earlier days thrust foreign bishops into English Sees and imposed upon us here in England exactions which were heavy and grievous to be borne. Certainly, and most if not all of these things were done also by Henry VIII the moment he found himself with the power to do them; but none of them would have done this, in the world as we know it to-day; and to argue as though they would is to be at once abstract, unreal, and unfair.

Are we to allow ourselves to forget that in the pre-Reformation days there were Popes who released the subjects of the English Crown from obedience to their Sovereign? Certainly not; nor may we forget that English Sovereigns returned the compliment.

Now we are assured on the highest authority that according to Lyndwood, who is the principal witness upon the subject of the Canon Law in the century preceding the Reformation,—we are assured that the binding force of all decretals in those days was neither denied, disputed, nor even made the subject of debate; that the Pope was spoken of as the Princeps of the Church;—*Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem*; that he expressly legislated for England among other countries, even to the extent of limiting the sum of money due to an English prelate on the occasion of a visitation.

“Here we are speaking,” says Professor Maitland, “of the law which our Courts Christian applied whenever the temporal power left them free to hear and decide a cause, and I have looked in vain for any suggestion that an English Judge or Advocate ever called in question the statutory power of a text that was contained in any of the three Papal law books.” “To dispute the authority of a decretal,” says the same writer, “is to be guilty of heresy at a time when obstinate heresy is a capital crime.”

And once more: “What we do not see is the slightest tendency to doubt the Pope’s legislative power, or to debate the validity of his decretals.”

Now if this is not the evidence of government, of the relation of Sovereign to subject and subject to Sovereign in spiritual things, what can we name that rightly is?

Picture yourself, then, living in those days: a difficulty comes up in the Ecclesiastical sphere, and your first step which presents itself to you as a mere matter of course, is the impetration of a Papal writ appointing judges delegate to hear your cause; and your next step is “to present the Papal mandate to the delegates who are named in it, and to obtain from them a sealed memorandum acknowledging their receipt of it.”

Picture yourself living under such circumstances and in the atmosphere of such assumptions, and then try to

imagine the impression of Henry VIII's revolutionary action in the sixteenth century; suddenly by what may be described as a "monstrous pirouette," going back upon his own position and compelling you to go back upon yours; and coercing you into open rebellion against your spiritual head.

No doubt there have been bad Popes and bad Kings also, and good Kings and good Popes to set against them; but where there have been bad may we not say, with Mr. Wakeman, as between the Church and State, "Let him that is without sin among you cast the first stone."

In other ways also it is easy to lose our sense of proportion—to arraign the language of dogma before the tribunal of devotion and call it severe and subtle, and to convict devotional language of extravagance by summoning it to appear before the bar of dogma.

2. Again we are so constituted that whatever is strange to us appears so far to be also difficult and unapproachable. We go to a new neighbourhood and mistake all the distances; each several spot appearing further in fact than it is.

Later on, when we have come to know it, distances are reduced and found almost to disappear; and we come to see that it is our imagination and not our reason that has been at work.

And so in our friendships; a quarrel comes up and those who were near become distant; and the word goes forth at once, "I will have nothing to do with him; I have done with him." The distance here again appears great in proportion as we continue to make no attempt to traverse it.

In these cases self is at the root of the mischief: the human spirit sees labour and trouble ahead and seeks to keep it at bay; it is a painful process,—recovering the line of concord; moreover it means some humiliation on both sides.

It is easier, then, to entertain plausible reasons: the

wrong that has been done to us, we say, is special; it is unlike any wrong that has ever been done before.

This is actual human nature; it cuts the knot of the difficulty, eases itself of pain, and leaves the stain of sin upon its soul.

The admonition continues to have its claim upon us, nevertheless, "See that ye love one another with a pure heart fervently."

Apply this to the case of our Roman brethren and ourselves. I am not for the moment considering who is to blame; but we were, I suppose I may say it, thrust asunder by a rude hand in the first instance, and no sooner did we separate than we began at once to diverge; and now for two or three centuries we have been developing each of us on his own line, away and away, and apart and apart; until our state of separation presents itself to us in the shape of an immutable fact and we make an act of faith in it as though it were another Gospel; whereas it can be shown to run clean contrary to the plain teaching of Scripture on every page of it. For if we are obliged, as we are, to picture persons in one form or another, what is left to us, apart from intercommunion, but the recollection of former quarrels and enmities, the exercise of a vague imagination, and the entertaining of grotesque suspicions and misunderstandings. This is why reconciliation so seldom runs with logic; so much of the work of separation has been the work also of imagination that when brought to the touchstone of reason and fact it dissolves in a moment.

We come forward, perhaps, in the case of some personal quarrel and make elaborate plans for bringing those who have been enemies together again. Meanwhile at a certain point of time, perhaps, suddenly and unexpectedly they fall across one another, as we may say, by chance and are surprised back into friendship.

And this is how I should answer those who propose difficult questions as to the "how" and "in what way"



of Reunion. "Let me hear now how this is to come about," it is said. The answer appears to me the same as with the personal quarrel: reconciliation does not run with logic. Meantime to cultivate intercommunion on social lines is plainly according to the principles of Scripture; to dwell upon our own faults and not merely upon the faults of our enemies; to look out greedily for points of agreement rather than of difference; and to make distinct efforts to understand the position which is not our own; all this is the mere elementary course of duty; and it will appear at once to be misleading and even immoral to say, for instance, that while Rome is what she is we cannot look towards her. To say this is entirely to forget that we are already in communion with those who repudiate absolutely much of what is nearest and dearest to our own hearts: men who deny the reality of their own priesthood, and explain away the supernatural character of their own message. To hold such language, then, is to adopt a line which we may know must put the blessed consummation of peace away from us not merely now but for ever.

It is a principle which, since it applies equally to either side, is plainly disastrous to both.

It is enough, then, to take one step at a time.

What conjunctures may arise in the future no one can say; but a great upheaval, if it should ever come, would mean an adjustment of the pieces.

And there are, I think, reasons, under such circumstances, for looking forward to Reunion in that special direction that I have indicated.

3. Another point which I have touched in more than one place and which is not easy for some to realise, is the significance of solidarity; the new environment that has been created around us by the press and the steam-engine, and which makes it no longer possible to mind merely our own business, or which, I should rather say, recalls to us how much more extensive that business is that we are called upon to mind.

The majority of men do not pause to analyse the elements of those situations that affect them. They attend the services of a particular church and afterwards say how they satisfy them; you ask them why, what it is in those particular services that touches and appeals to them, and they cannot answer, or they answer wrongly.

And so again they read everything and cannot afterwards say where they have read it or precisely what its nature is. To-day it is some vague rumour, some unintentional perhaps but real misrepresentation about the religious Orders or the Roman Congregations; and to-morrow they do not remember precisely where it is that they have read it, but it was somewhere; and, in fact, to cut the matter short, as to the entire ecclesiastical situation they are weary of it all. So it is that the whole Church is made to suffer, and in one sense rightly too; since there should be perfect sympathy throughout the entire body.

4. The whole question, then, requires restating in the light of our new conditions. Since the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries the entire atmosphere has changed; old things have passed away and all things have become new; and it is not only ourselves but our Roman brethren also that have to realise this. We must not allow ourselves to ignore experience and to use the language of the Sixteenth Century at the beginning of the Twentieth. And if we interpret the past in the light of that development which is the ruling idea of our own time is it even straightforward to persuade ourselves and to try also to persuade others that the conditions of the Twentieth Century can be even remotely like those of the Reformation period, or that reunion, at least in the Western Church, can revive all the old conditions and circumstances of four hundred years ago.

The same law applies to all, and none of us can live in an exhausted receiver.

The great river of progress flows on and gathers force

as it continues to flow ; meantime the living bodies on its surface, although they need not lose their identity, must to some extent float with it.

It is unreal, then, to speak of any system whatever as if it could live in this atmosphere without coming to terms with it.

5. But, more particularly, while on the one hand it is felt that things cannot continue with us as they are, I am convinced on the other, that for the purposes of Reunion the Anglican Rule of Faith is not yet exhausted ; that it contains more than it has been allowed to divulge : that it is impossible to study it carefully and not to consider the Petrine texts ; and that in one shape or another the question that must now be faced is not merely the general relation of National Churches to the Catholic Church, but more particularly of our own Church in England to the Holy See.

It has been said of the English people that they hold firmly to their belief in two things :—Providence and the Bible. If so, is it not plain that while the former is marking out for us a constructive as opposed to a destructive line of policy, the latter distinguishes the Roman Church with words of special praise, and on the other hand lends no sort of countenance to our “ Unhappy Divisions.”

May we not then, at least in spirit, meet, all of us, upon the basis of the Bible and of our Baptism, and so far unite in one and the same prayer, however variously we may interpret it.

“ O Lord, Jesus Christ, who saidst unto Thine Apostles, My peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you ; regard not our sins but the Faith of Thy Church, and grant unto Her such a measure of Unity as shall be agreeable to Thy will.”

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